

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE RELIGION

Anciently professed by the **IRISH**
and **BRITISH**.

By **JAMES VSSHER** Archbishop of Armagh,
and Primate of IRELAND.



LONDON,
Printed by R. Y. for the Partners of the
Irish Stocke. 1634.

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TO MY VERY
MVCH HONOVRED

Friend, Sir *Christopher Sibthorp*,
Knight, one of his Majesties Iustices
of his Court of chiefe place
in IRELAND.

WORTHY SIR:



Confesse, I somewhat incline to bee of your minde, that if unto the authorities drawn out of Scriptures and Fathers (which are common to us with others) a true discoverie were added of that Religion which anciently was professed in this Kingdome; it might prove a speciall motive to induce my poore country-men to consider a little

The Epistle.

^a Luke 16.
31.

^b 2 Thes. 2.
10, 11.

better of the old and true way from whence they have hitherto been mis-ledd. Yet on the one side, that saying in the Gospel runneth much in my minde ; ^a *If they heare not Moses and the Prophets, neyther will they be perswaded, though one rose from the dead* : and on the other, that heavie iudgement mentioned by the Apostle ; ^b *because they received not the love of the truth, that they might bee saved, God shall send them strong delusion, that they should beleve lyes.* The woefull experience whereof, wee may see daily before our eyes in this poore nation: where, such as are slow of heart to beleve the saving truth of God delivered by the Prophets and Apostles, doe with all greedinesse imbrace, and with a most strange kinde of credulitie entertaine those lying Legends, wherewith their Monkes and Friars in these latter daies have polluted the religion and lives of our ancient Saints.

I doe not deny but that in this Countrey, as well as in others, corruptions did creep in by little and little, before the Divell was let loose to procure that seduction which prevailed so generally in these last times : but as farre as I can collect by such records of the former ages as have come unto my hands
(eyther

The Epistle.

eyther *manuscript* or *printed*) the religion professed by the ancient Bishops, Priests, Monks, and other Christians in this land, was for substance the very same with that which now by publike authoritie is maintained therein, against the forraine doctrin brought in thither in later times by the Bishop of Romes followers. I speake of the more substantiall points of doctrine, that are in controversie betwixt the Church of Rome and us at this day, by which only we must iudge, whether of both sides hath departed from the religion of our Ancestors : not of matters of inferiour note, much lesse of ceremonies and such other things as appertaine to the discipline rather than to the doctrine of the Church.

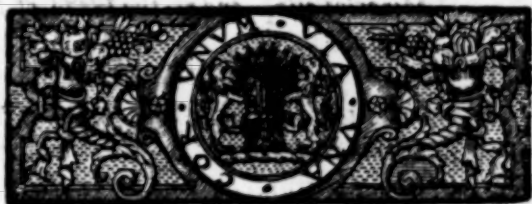
And whereas it is knowne unto the learned, that the name of *Scoti* in those elder times (whereof we treat) was common to the inhabitants of the *greater* and the *lesser* Scotland (for so heretofore they have beene distinguished) that is to say, of *Ireland*, and the famous colonie deduced from thence into *Albania* : I will not follow the example of those that have of late laboured to make dissension betwixt the daughter and the mother,

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

ther, but account of them both, as of the same people.

Tros Rutulusve fuit, nullo discrimine habeo.
The religion doubtlesse received by both, was the selfe same; and differed little or nothing from that which was maintained by their neighbours the *Britons*: as by comparing the evidences that remaine, both of the one nation and of the other, in the ensuing discourse more fully shall appeare.

The



The chiefe Heads treated of in this
discourse, are these:

- I. **O**F the holy Scriptures. pag. 1.
- II. **O**F Predestination, Grace, Free-will,
Workes, Iustification and Sanctifica-
tion. pag. 11.
- III. Of Purgatory, and Prayer for the dead. pag. 21.
- IIII. Of the Worship of God, the publike forme
of Liturgie, the Sacrifice, and Sacra-
ment of the Lords Supper. pag. 30.
- V. Of Chrisme, Sacramentall Confession, Pe-
nance, Absolution, Marriage, Divorces,
and single life in the Clergie. pag. 45.
- VI. Of the discipline of our ancient Monkes;
and abstinence from meats. pag. 54.
- VII. Of the Church and various state thereof,
especially in the dayes of Antichrist: of
Miracles

The Contents.

- Miracles also, and of the Head of the Church. pag.66.
- VIII. Of the Popes Spirituall Iurisdiction, and how little footing it had gotten at first within these parts. pag.75.
- IX. Of the Controversie which the Britons, Piets, and Irish maintained against the Charch of Rome, touching the celebration of Easter. pag.92.
- X. Of the height that the opposition betwixt the Romane party, and that of the Brittish and the Scottish grew unto; and the abatement thereof in time: and how the Doctors of the Scottish and Irish side have beene ever accounted most eminent men in the Catholike Church, notwithstanding their dis-union from the Bishop of Rome. pag.105.
- XI. Of the temporall power, which the Popes followers would directly intitle him unto over the Kingdome of Ireland: together with the indirect power which hee challengeth in absolving subjects from the obedience, which they owe to their temporall Governours. pag.117.

c 1 Cor. 4. 6. *plu*
scrip & *proph*
etia & *proph*
 d Scrutamini
 legem, in qua
 voluntas ejus
 continetur. Se-
 dulius Ephes. 3.
 e Plus vult sa-
 pere, qui illa
 scrutatur quæ
 Lex non dicit.
 Id. in Rom. 11.
 f Propterea
 errant, quia
 Scripturas nesci-
 unt: & quia
 Scripturas ig-
 norant, conse-
 quenter nesci-
 unt virtutem
 Dei, hoc est,
 Christum, qui
 est Dei virtus
 & Dei sapien-
 tia. Claud. in
 Matib. lib. 3.
 Habetur MS.
 Romæ in Bibli-
 othecâ Valli-
 cellanâ; & Can-
 tabrigiæ, in
 Bibliothecæ
 Colleg. Bene-
 dicti, & Aulæ
 Pembrockiæ.
 g Hoc, quia de
 Scripturis non
 habet authori-
 tatem, eadem

facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur. Id. ib. h Tantum ea quæ in Prophetis, Evangelicis
 & Apostolicis literis discere poterant, pietatis & castitatis opera diligenter observantes.
 Bed. lib. 3. *hisor. Ecclesiast.* cap. 4. i In tantum autem vita illius à nostri temporis segnicia
 distabat; ut omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive adtonsi, sive laici, meditari deberent, id est,
 aut legendis Scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis operam dare. Id. ibid. cap. 5.

more wise than is fitting, is ^e not to be wise above that
 which is written. Hereupon Sedulius (one of the most
 ancient Writers that remaineth of this Country
 birth) delivereth this for the meaning of the former
 rule; ^d Search the Law, in which the will of God is con-
 tained: and this for the later; ^e He would be more wise
 than is meete, who searcheth those things that the Law
 doth not speake of. Unto whom wee will adjoyne
 Claudius another famous Divine, (counted one of
 the founders of the University of Paris) who for the
 illustration of the former, affirmeth that men ^f there-
 fore erre, because they know not the Scriptures; and be-
 cause they are ignorant of the Scriptures, they conse-
 quently know not Christ, who is the power of God and the
 wisdom of God: and for the clearing of the latter,
 bringeth in that knowne Canon of Saint Hierome;
 & This, because it hath not authority from the Scrip-
 tures, is with the same facility contemned, wherewith it
 is avowed.

Neither was the practice of our Ancestors herein
 different from their judgement. For as Bede touching
 the latter, recordeth of the successors of Colum-kille
 the great Saint of our Country; that they ^h observed
 onely those workes of piety and chastity, which they could
 learne in the Propheticall, Evangelicall, and Apostolicall
 writings: so for the former, hee specially noteth of
 one of the principall of them, to wit, Bishop Aidan;
 that ⁱ all such as went in his company, whether they were

of the Clergie, or of the Laity, were tyed to exercise themselves, either in the reading of Scriptures, or in the learning of psalmes. And long before their time, it was the observation which Saint Chrysostome made of both these Ilands: that ^k although thou didst goe unto the Ocean, and those Brittish Isles, although thou didst sayle to the Euxine Sea, although thou didst goe unto the Southerne quarters, thou shouldst heare A L L men every where discoursing matters out of the SCRIPTURE, with another voice indeede, but not with another faith, and with a different tongue, but with an according judgement. Which is in effect the same with that which venerable Bede pronounceth of the Island of Brittain in his owne dayes, that ^l in the language of five Nations it did search and confesse one and the same knowledge of the highest truth, and of the true sublimity; to wit, of the English, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins. which last although hee affirmeth by the meditation of the Scriptures to have become common to all the rest: yet the community of that one among the learned, did not take away the property of the other foure among the vulgar, but that such as understood not the Latin, might yet in their own mother tongue have those Scriptures, wherein they might search the knowledge of the highest truth, and of the true sublimity. even as at this day in the reformed Churches, the same Latin tongue is common to all the learned in the meditation and exposition of the Scriptures; and yet the common people for all that, doe in their owne vulgar tongues ^{*} search the Scriptures, because

Scotorum, Pictorum, & Latinorum, quæ meditatione Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis. Bed. lib. 1. Histor. Ecclesiast. cap. 1. * John 5:39.

m Bonis semper moribus delectatur & consentit; & assiduis Scripturarum meditationibus & eloquiis animam vegetat. *Patric. de abus. anib. sacul. cap. 5. de Pudicitia.*
n. Columban. in *Monasticis*, & in *epistola ad Huanaldum.*

o Successit Ecgfrido in regnum Alfrid, vir in Scripturis doctissimus. *Bede. lib. 4. hist. ca. 26.*

p Ab ipso tempore pueritiae suae curam non modicam lectionibus faceret, simul & monasticis exhibebat disciplinis. *Bede. lib. 3. hist. cap. 19.* Ab infantia sacris literis & monasticis disciplinis eruditus. Iohannes de Tinmouth (& ex eo to. Capgrar.) in vita Fursei. q A puerili aetate magnum habet studium sacras docere literas. *Tom. 4. Antiqu. left. Henr. Canis. pag. 642.*

in them they thinke to have eternall life. For as by us now, so by our forefathers then, the ^m continuall meditation of the Scriptures was held to give speciall vigour and vegetation to the soule (as wee reade in the booke attributed unto St. Patrick, of the abuses of the world :) and the holy documents delivered therein, were esteemed by Christians as their chiefe riches; according to that of Columbanus,

¶ Sint tibi divitiæ, divina dogmata legis.

In which heavenly riches our ancient Scottish and Irish did thrive so well, that many worthy personages in forraine parts were content to undergoe a voluntarie exile from their owne Country; that they might more freely trafficke here for so excellent a commodity. And by this meanes Altfred King of Northumberland, purchased the reputation of ^a man most learned in the Scriptures.

*Scottorum qui tum versatus incola terris,
Cælestem intento spirabat corde sophilam.
Nam patria fines & dulcia liquerat arva,
Seculus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul.*

as Bede writeth of him, in his Poëme of the life of our Countryman St. Cuthbert.

So when wee reade in the same Bede of ^p Furseus, and in another ancient Author of ^q Kilianus, that from the time of their very childhood, they had a care to learne the holy Scriptures: it may easily bee collected, that in those dayes it was not thought a thing unfit, that even children should give themselves un-

to the studie of the Bible. Wherein how greatly some of them did profite in those tender yeeres, may appeare by that which *Boniface* the first Archbishop of Mentz, relateth of *Levinus* (who was trained up in his youth by *Benignus* in the singing of *David's* Psalmes, and the reading of the holy Gospels, and other divine exercises) and *Jonas* of *Columbanus*; in whose breast the treasures of the holy Scriptures were so layd up, that within the compasse of his youthfull yeeres hee set forth an elegant exposition of the booke of the Psalmes. by whose industry likewise afterward, the studie of Gods Word was so propagated; that in the Monasteries which were founded according to his rule beyond the Seas, not the men only, but the religious women also did carefully attend the same, that through patience and comfort of the Scriptures they might have hope. See for this, the practice of the Virgin *Bitihildis* lying upon her death bed; reported by the same *Jonas*, or whosoever else was the Author of the life of *Burgundofors*.

As for the edition of the Scriptures used in these parts at those times: the *Latin* translation was so received into common use among the learned, that the principall authority was still reserved to the originall fountains. Therefore doth *Sedulius* in the Old Testament commend unto us the *Hebrew verity* (for so with *S. Hierome* doth he style it:) and in the New correct oftentimes the vulgar *Latin* according to the truth of the *Greek* copies. For example: in 1 Cor. 7 34.

*r Davidica
Psalmorum
melodis, &
sanctorum E-
vangeliorum
mellifluis le-
ctionibus at-
que ceteris
divinis exerci-
tationibus Bo-
nifac. in vita
Levini.*

*Tantum in
ejus pectore
divinarum the-
sauri Scriptu-
rum conditi
tenebantur; ut
intra adole-
scentie tra-
tem decederet,
Psalmorum li-
brum eliminato
sermone ex-
poneret. Jonas
in vita Colum-
bae i. cap. 2.
et B. Burgun-
doforsia mona-
sterium quod
Euoricas ap-
pellatur, &c.
secundum re-
gulam S. Co-
lumbani insti-
tuit. Id. in vita
Burgundof.*

u Cum jam in extremis posita posceret per successiones nostrum lumen coram te accendi, & sacrae lectionis praeco ante se legi, &c. Id. ibid. x Hebraicam veritatem *Sedul.* in Galat. 3. & Hebr. 7.

he readeth as wee doe, *There is difference betweene a wife and a virgin*; and not as the Rhemists have translated it out of the Latin. Rom. 12. 19. hee readeth, *Non vosmetipsos vindicantes*, not avenging your selves: where the vulgar Latin hath corruptly, *Non vosmetipsos defendentes*, not defending your selves. Rom. 3. 4. where the Rhemists translate according to the Latin, *God is true*: hee sheweth that in the Greeke copies it is found, *Let God be true*, or, *let God be made true*. Rom. 15. 17. hee noteth that the Latin bookes have put *glory* for *gloriation*. Galat. 1. 16. where the Rhemists have according to the Latin, *I condescended not to flesh & blond*: he saith, that in *Græco melius habet* (for so must his words bee here corrected out of St. Hierome, whom hee followeth) the Greek hath it better, *I conferred not*. Rom. 8. 3. where the Rhemists say of God, according to the Latin translation, *that of sinne hee damned sinne in the flesh*: Sedulius affirmeth, that *verius habetur apud Græcos*, it is more truly expressed in the Greeke bookes; that for sinne he damned sinne in the flesh. Lastly, where the Rhemists translate after their Latin copie, Gal. 5. 9. *A little leaven corrupteth the whole paste*: hee saith it should be, *leaveneth*, (as we have it) and not *corrupteth*, as it is ill read in the Latin bookes. So where they translate by the same authority, Galat. 6. 1. *Instruct such an one in the spirit of lenitie*: ^a Claudius, tollowing St. Hierome, affirmeth that it is better in the Greeke, *Restore or Perfect him*. and where they make St. Peter say, Mat. 16. 22. *Lord, bee it farre from thee*: ^a hee noteth, that it is better in the Greeke; *Lord, favour thy selfe*.

y Non, ut male in Latinis codicibus, corrumpit. Sedul. in Gal. 5.
 z Instruat; siue, ut melius habetur in Græco, perficiat in spiritu lenitatis. Claud. in Gal. 6.
 a Absit à te Domine: vel ut melius habetur in Græco; Propitius esto tibi, Domine. Id. lib. 2. comment. in Matth.

fore this translation of S. Hierome, ⁿ I have seene an Epigram prefixed by Ricemarch the Briton; who by Caradoc of Lhancarpan ^o is commended for the godliest, wisest, and greatest Clerke that had been in Wales many yeares before his time, his father Sulgen Bishop of S. Davids only excepted, who had brought him up, and a great number of learned disciples. He having in this Epigramme said of those who translated the Psalter out of Greeke, that they did darken the Hebrew rayes with thir Latin clowde: addeth of S. Hierome, that being replenished with the Hebrew fountaine, hee did more cleerely and briefly discover the truth; as drawing it out of the first vessell immediately, and not taking it at the second hand. To this purpose thus expresseth he himselfe;

*Ebrais nablam custodit littera signis:
Pro captu quam quisque suo sermone Latino
Edidit, innumeros Linguâ variante libellos;
Ebraumq; jubar suffuscat nube Latina.
Nam tepe facta ferum dant tertia labra saporem.
Sed sacer Hieronymus, Ebrao fonte repletus,
Lucidius nudat verum, brevisque ministrat.
Namque secunda creat, nam tertia vascula vitat.*

Now for those bookes annexed to the Old Testament, which S. Hierom calleth *Apocryphall*, others *Ecclesiasticall*: true it is that in our Irish and Brittish writers some of them are allèdged as parcels of Scripture, and propheticall writings; those especially that commonly bare the name of *Salomon*. But so also is the fourth booke of *Esdras* cited by *Gildas*, in the name of *blessed Esdras the Prophet*; which yet our Romanists will not admit to be *Canonicall*: neither

*n MS. in Bibli-
otheca eruditiss.
sini antistitis
D. Guilhelmi
Bedelli, Xilmo-
rensis & Arda-
chodensis apud
nos Episcopi.
o Caradoc. in
Chronica Cam-
bria, circa an-
num 1039. ad
quem in aliis
clausis Annalibus
Britannicis
MS. annotatum
repperi. Sub hu-
jus anni ambi-
tum mortis suc-
cumbit Rich-
march cognomine
Sapiens,
filius Sulgeni
Episcopi, cum
jam annum
XLIII. ætatis
ageret.*

*p Quid præ-
terea beatus
Esdras Prophe-
ta ille, Bibli-
otheca legis,
minatus sit at-
tendite. Gild.
Epist.*

doc

doe our writers mention any of the rest with more titles of respect than wee finde given unto them by others of the ancient Fathers, who yet in expresse termes doe exclude them out of the number of those bookes which properly are to be esteemed Canonically. So that from hence no sufficient prooffe can bee taken, that our ancestours did herein depart from the tradition of the Elder Church, * delivered by *S. Hierome* in his Prologues, and explained by *Brito* (a Briton, it seemeth, by nation, as well as by appellation) in his commentaries upon the same; which being heretofore joyned with the Ordinarie Glosse upon the Bible, have of late proved so distastefull unto our Popish Divines, that in their new editions (printed at *Lyons* anno 1590. and at *Venice* afterward) they have quite crossed them out of their books.

* *Vid. Richard. Armachanum, de questionib. Armeniorum, lib. 18. cap. 1.*

q Hucusq; Hebraeorum divina Scriptura temporum seriem continet. Quæ verò post hæc apud ludæos sunt gesta, de libro Maccabæorum, & Iosephi atq; Aphricani scriptis exhibentur. *Marian. Coron. 115.*

r In Maccabæorum libris etsi aliquid mirabilium numero inferendum conveniens fuisse ordini inveniatur; de hoc tamen nullâ curâ frugabimur: quia tantum agere proposuimus, unde divini canonis mirabilibus exiguan (quamvis ingenio nostri modulum excedentem) historicam expositionem ex parte aliquâ tangeremus. *Lib. 2. de mirabilib. Script. cap. 34. (inser opera B. Augustini, tom. 3.)*

Yet *Marianus Scotus* (who was borne in Ireland in the MXXVIII. yeare of our Lord) was somewhat more carefull to maintaine the ancient bounds of the Canon set by his forefathers. For he in his Chronicle, following *Eusebius* and *S. Hierom*, at the reigne of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* writeth thus: q *Hitherto the divine Scripture of the Hebrewes containeth the order of Times. But those things that after this were done among the Iewes, are represented out of the booke of the Maccabees, and the writings of Iosephus and Aphricanus.* But before him, more plainly, the author of the book *de mirabilibus Scripturae* (who is accounted to have lived here; about the yeare DCLVII.) * *In the bookes*

of the Maccabees, howsoever some wonderfull things bee found, which might conveniently bee inserted into this ranke; yet will wee not weary our selves with any care thereof: because wee only purposed to touch in some measure a short historicall exposition of the wonderfull things contained in the divine canon. as also in the apocryphall additions of Daniel, hee telleth us, that what is reported touching the lake (or denne) and the carrying of Abacuk, in the fable of Bel and the Dragon, is not therefore placed in this ranke, because these things have not the authority of divine Scripture.

And so much concerning the holy Scriptures.

CHAP. II.

Of Predestination, Grace, Free-will, Faith, Workes, Iustification and Sanctification.

THe Doctrine which our learned men observed out of the Scriptures & the writings of the most approved Fathers, was this, that God ^bby his immovable counsaile (as Gallus speaketh in his Sermon preached at Constance) ordained some of his creatures to praise him, and to live blessedly from him and in him, & by him: namely, ^cby his eternall predestination, his free calling, and his grace which was due to none. that ^dhee hath mercie with great goodnesse, and hardneth without any iniquitie: so as neyther he that is delivered can glory of his own merits, nor he that is condemned complain but

f De locu verò iterum & Abacuk translatò in Belis & Draconis fabulâ, idcirco in hoc ordine non ponitur; quòd in autoritate divinæ Scripturæ non habentur. *ibid. cap. 31.*

rariâ, sed vocatione gratuita, vel indebitâ gratiâ. *Id. ib.* d Miseretur magnâ bonitate, & obdurat nullâ iniquitate: ut neq; liberatus de suis meritis gloriatur, neq; damnatus nisi de suis meritis conqueratur. Sola enim gratia redemptos discernit à perditis, quos in unam perditionis concreaverat massam, ab origine ducta causâ communi. *Sedul. in Rom. 9.*

of

e Videtur
versum genus
humanum tam
justo iudicio
divinoque in
apostaticâ ra-
dice damna-
tum; ut etiam
nullus inde li-
beratur, nemo
rectè posset
Dei vituperare
iustitiam: &
qui liberantur,
sic oportuisse
liberari, ut ex
pluribus non
liberatis, atq;
damnatione
iustissimâ de-
relictis, osten-
deretur quid
meruisset uni-
versa conspici-
tio. quòd etiam
justos debitum
iudicium Dei
damnaret, nisi
in ejus debitum
misericordia
subveniret: ut
volentium de
suis meritis
gloriari, omne

os obstruatur; & qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur. *Id. ibid.* f Libero arbitrio
malè utens homo, & se perdidit, & ipsum. Sicut enim qui se occidit, utique vivendo se
occidit, sed se occidendo non vivit, neque se ipsum poterit resuscitare cùm occiderit: ita
cùm libero arbitrio peccaretur, victore peccato amissum est & liberum arbitrium. à quo
enim quis devictus est, huic & servus addictus est. sed ad bonè faciendum ista libertas unde
erit homini addicto & vendito, nisi redimat, cujus illa vox est; Si vos Filius liberaverit,
verè liberi eritis? *Id. ibid.*

of his own merits. forasmuch as grace onely maketh the
distinction betwixt the redeemed and the lost; who by a
cause drawne from their common originall, were framed
together into one masse of perdition. For all mankind
stood condemned in the apostaticall roote (of Adam)
with so just and divine a judgement; that although none
should be freed from thence, no man could rightly blame
the justice of God: and such as were freed, must so have
beene freed, that by those many which were not freed, but
left in their most just condemnation, it might bee shewed
what the whole lump had deserved. that the due judge-
ment of God should have condemned even those that are
justified, unlesse mercy had relieved them from that
which was due: that so all the monthes of them, which
would glory of their meritts, might bee stopped; and hee
that glorieth, might glory in the Lord.

They further taught (as Saint Augustine did) that
Man using ill his Free will, lost both himselfe and it.
that, as one by living is able to kill himselfe, but by
killing himselfe is not able to live, nor hath power to raise
up himselfe when hee hath killed himselfe: so when sinne
had beene committed by free will, sinne being the conque-
rour, free will also was lost; forasmuch as of whom a man
is overcome, of the same is hee also brought in bondage
(2 Pet. 2. 19.) that unto a man thus brought in bondage
and sold, there is no liberty left to doe well, unlesse he re-

deeme

deeme him, whose saying is this; If the Sonne make you free, yee shall bee free indeede. (Iohn 8.36.) that the minde of men from their very youth is set upon evil: there being not a man which sinneth not. that a man hath nothing from himselfe, but sinne. that God is the author of all good things, that is to say, both of good nature, and of good will; which unlesse God doe worke in him, man cannot doe. because this good will is prepared by the Lord in man; that by the gift of God hee may doe that, which of himselfe he could not doe by his owne free will. that the good will of man goeth before many gifts of God, but not all: and of those which it doth not goe before, it selfe is one. For both of these is read in the holy Scriptures; His mercy shall goe before mee, and, His mercie shall follow mee: it preventeth him that is unwilling that hee may will, and it followeth him that is willing, that he will not in vaine. and that therefore we are admonished to aske that wee may receive, to the end, that what we doe will may be effected by him, by whom it was effected that we did so will.

They taught also, that the Law was not given, that it might take away sinne, but that it might shut up all under sinne: to the end that men, being by this means humbled, might understand that their salvation was not in their owne hand, but in the hand of a Mediatour. that

g. Quid ab
adolescencia
mens homi-
num apposit
fit ad malitiam:
non est enim
homo qui non
peccet. Id. in
Ephes. 1.

h. Quid habes
ex teipso nisi
peccatum? Id.
in 1 Cor. 4.

i. Deus author
est omnium
bonorum, hoc
est, & naturæ
bonæ, & vo-
luntatis bonæ;
quam nisi De-
us in illo opere-
tur, non facit
homo. quia
præparatur
voluntas à Do-
mino in homi-
ne bona; ut fa-
ciat Deo do-
nante, quod à
seipso facere
non poterat
per liberi arbi-
trii volunta-
tem. Claud. li. 1.
in Matth.

le. Præcedit bona voluntas hominis multa Dei dona, sed non omnia: quæ autem non præcedit ipsa, in eis est & ipsa. Nam utrumque legitur in sanctis eloquiis; & misericordia ejus prævenit me, & misericordia ejus subsequetur me: nolentem prævenit ut velit, volentem subsequitur, ne frustra velit. Cur enim admonemur petere ut accipiamus; nisi ut ab illo fiat quod volumus, à quo factum est ut velimus? Sedul. in Rom. 9. Non ergo lex data est, ut peccatum auferret, sed ut sub peccato omnia concluderetur. Lex enim ostendebat esse peccatum, quod illi per consuetudinem carcati possent putare iustitiam: ut hoc modo humiliati cognoscerent non in sua manu esse salutem suam, sed in manu media-

toris. Id. in Gal. 3.

by

Non remissio, nec ablatio peccatorum, sed cognitio. *Id. in Rom. 3.* Lex, quæ per Moysen data est, tantum peccata ostendit, non abstulit. *Claud. in Gal. 3.* Perque illam legem morbos ostendentem non auferentem, etiam prævaricationis crimine contrita superbia est. *Id. in Gal. 3.* Lex non donat peccata, sed damnat. *Sedul. in Rom. 4.* Dominus Deus imposuerat non iustitiæ servientibus sed peccato: iustam scilicet legem in iustis hominibus dando, ad demonstranda peccata eorum, non auferenda. Non enim auferunt peccata nisi gratiæ fidei quæ per dilectionem operatur. *Claud. in argument. epist. ad Gal. q.* Gratis nobis donantur peccata. *Sedul. in Gal. 1.* A morte redemptis gratis peccata dimittuntur. *Id. in Ephes. 1.* r Abique operum merito, & peccata nobis concessa sunt pristina, & pax indulta post veniam. *Claud. in Gal. 1.* f Gratiâ estis salvati per fidem, id est, non per opera. *Sedul. in Eph. 1.* t Non in propriâ iustitiâ, vel doctrinâ, sed in fide crucis, per quam mihi omnia peccata dimissa sunt. *Sedul. & Claud. in Gal. 6.* u Abiecta & irrita gratia est, si mihi sola non sufficit. *Sedul. in Gal. 2.* x Christum vilem habetis, dum putatis eum vobis non iustificare ad salutem. *Id. in Galat. 3.* y Disposuit Deus propitium se futurum esse humani generi, si credant in sanguine eius se esse liberandos. *Id. in Rom. 3.* z Vita corporis anima, vi a animæ fides est. *Id. in Hebr. 10.* a In fide vivo filii Dei, id est, in solâ fide, qui nihil d. b. o legi. *Id. in Gal. 2.* b Perfectionem legi habet, qui credit in Christo. Cum enim nullus iustificaretur ex lege, quia nemo implebat legem, nisi qui speraret in promissionem Christi: fides posita est, quæ cederet pro perfectione legi; ut in omnibus prætermisissis fides satisfaceret pro totâ lege. *Id. in Rom. 10.*

by the Law commeth, neither the remission nor the removal, but the knowledge of sinnes: that it taketh not away diseases, but discovereth them; forgiveth not sinnes, but condemneth them. that the Lord God did impose it, not upon those that served righteousness, but sinne; namely, by giving a just law to unjust men, so manifest their sins, and not to take them away: forasmuch as nothing taketh away sins but the grace of faith which worketh by love. That our sinnes are freely forgiven us; without the merit of our workes: that through grace we are saved, by faith, and not by works; and that therefore we are to rejoyce, not in our owne righteousness, or learning, but in the faith of the Crosse, by which all our sinnes are forgiven us. That grace is abject and vaine, if it alone doe not suffice us: and that we esteeme basely of Christ, when we thinke that he is not sufficient for us to salvation.

That God hath so ordered it, that he will be gracious to mankind, if they do beleewe that they shall be freed by the blond of Christ, that, as the soule is the life of the body, so faith is the life of the soule: and that wee live by faith onely, as owing nothing to the Law. that hee

who beleeveth in Christ, hath the perfection of the Law. For whereas none might be justified by the Law, because none did fulfill the Law, but onely hee which did trust in the promise of Christ: faith was appointed, which should be accepted for the perfection of the Law, that in all things which were omitted faith might satisfie for the whole Law. That this righteoulnesse therefore is ^e not ours, nor in us, but in Christ; in whom wee are considered as members in the head. That ^d faith, procuring the remission of sinnes by grace, maketh all beleevers the children of Abraham: and that ^e it was just, that as Abraham was justified by faith onely, so also the rest that followed his faith should bee saved after the same manner. That ^f through adoption we are made the sons of God, by beleiving in the Sonne of God: and that this is ^g a testimony of our adoption, that we have the spirit; by which we pray, and cry Abba Father; forasmuch as none can receive so great a pledge as this, but such as bee sonnes onely. That ^h Moses himselfe made a distinction betwixt both the justices, to wit of faith and of deedes: that the one did by workes justifie him that came, the other by beleiving onely. that ⁱ the Patriarches and the Prophets were not justified by the workes of the Law, but by faith. that ^k the custome of sinne hath so prevailed, that none now can fulfill the Law: as the Apostle Peter saith, Acts 15. 10. Which neither our fathers nor wee

^l b. 1. in Mat. ^g Testimonium adoptionis, quod habemus spiritum, per quem ita oramus: et tantam enim arrham non poterant, nisi filii accipere. *Sed in Rom. 8.* ^h Ipse Moses distinguit inter utramque iustitiam, fidei scilicet atque factorum: quia altera operibus, altera sola credulitate iustificet accedentem. *Id. in Rom. 10.* ⁱ Patriarchæ & Prophetæ non ex operibus legis, sed ex fide iustificati sunt. *Id. in Gal. 3.* ^k Ita prævaluit consuetudo peccandi, ut nemo iam perficiat legem: sicut Petrus Apostolus ait; Quod neque nos neque patres nostri portare potuimus. Si qui verò iusti non erant maledicti; non ex operibus legis, sed fidei gratiâ salvati sunt. *Id. in Gal. 3.*

c Non nosse, non in nobis; sed in Christo, quasi membra in capite. *Id. in 2 Cor. 5.*

d Fides, dimittit per gratiam peccatis, omnes credentes filios efficit Abrahæ. *Id. in Rom. 4.*

e Iustum fuerat, ut quo modo Abraham, credens ex gentibus per solam fidem iustificatus est; ita ceteri fide eius imitantes salventur. *Id. in Rom. 1.*

f Per adoptionem efficiamur filii Dei, credendo in Filium Dei. *Claud.*

have

have beene able to heare. But if there were any righteous men which did escape the curse : it was not by the workes of the Law, but for their faiths sake that they were saved.

Thus did *Sedulius* and *Claudius*, two of our most famous Divines deliver the doctrine of free will and grace, faith and workes, the Law and the Gospel, justification and Adoption ; no lesse agreeably to the faith which is at this day professed in the reformed Churches, than to that which they themselves received from the more ancient Doctors, whom they did follow therein. Neither doe wee in our judgement one whit differ from them, when they teach that *faith alone is not sufficient to life*. For when it is said, that *Faith alone justifieth* : this word *alone* may be conceived to have relation either to the former part of the sentence, which in the Schooles they terme the *Subject* ; or to the latter, which they call the *Predicate*. Being referred to the former, the meaning will be ; that such a faith as is *alone* (that is to say, not accompanied with other vertues) doth justifie : and in this sense wee utterly disclaime the assertion. But being referred to the latter, it maketh this sense ; that faith is it which *alone* or onely justifieth : and in this meaning onely doe we defend that proposition ; understanding still by *faith*, not a dead carcase thereof (for how should the just be able to live by a dead faith ?) but a true and lively faith, *which worketh by love*. For as it is a certaine truth, that among all the members of the body, the eye is the onely instrument whereby we see ; and yet it is as true also, that the eye being alone, and separated from the rest of the

I Hoc contra illos agit, qui solam fidem posse sufficere dicunt. *Sedulius* in *Ephes. 5.* Non ergo sola ad vitam sufficit fides. *Claudius* in *Gal. 5. 22.* Hæc sententia illos revincit, qui solam fidem ad salutem animarum suarum sufficere arbitrantur. *Id. ibid.* in fine.

in *Gal. 5. 6.*

the members, is dead, and for that cause doth neither see onely, nor see at all: so these two sayings likewise may stand well enough together, that among all the vertues in the soule, faith is the onely instrument whereby wee lay hold upon Christ for our justification; and yet, that faith being alone, and disjoyned from the society of other graces, is dead in it selfe, (as St. ^a James speaketh) and in that respect can neither only justifie, nor justifie at all.

So though *Claudius* doe teach as wee doe, that *o* faith alone saveth us; because by the workes of the law no man shall bee justified: yet hee addeth withall this caution. *r* Not as if the workes of the law should be condemned, and without them a simple faith (so hee calleth that solitary faith whereof we spake, which is a simple faith indeed) should bee desired; but that the workes themselves should bee adorned with the faith of Christ. For that sentence of the wise man is excellent; that the faithfull man doth not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith. In like manner *Sedulius*, acknowledgeth with us, that God *q* hath purposed by faith onely to forgive our sinnes freely, and *r* by faith onely to save the believers; and that, when men have fallen, they are to bee renewed *onely* by the faith of Christ, which worketh by love. intimating by this last clause, that howsoever faith onely be it which justifieth the man, yet the worke of love is necessarily required (for all that) to justifie the faith. And this

o Si gentes fides sola non salvar, nec nos: quia ex operibus legis nemo iustificabitur.

Claud. in Galat. 3.

p Non quod legis opera contemnenda sint, & absq; eis simplex fides adperenda; sed ipsa opera fide Christi adornentur. Scilicet enim sapientis viri illa

sententia; non fidelem vivere ex iustitia, sed iustum ex fide. *Id. in Galat. 3.*

q Grátis propefuit per so-

lam fidem dimittere peccata. *Sedul. in Rom. 4.* *r* Vt solâ fide salventur credentes. *Idem in Galat. 3.* *f* Per solam fidem Christi, quæ per dilectionem operatur, *Id. in Hebr. 6.*

C

faith

Et Hæc files cum iustificata fuerit, tanquam radix umbre sine prophanet in animæ solo; ut cum per legem Dei excoli exierit, rursum in eam surgant rami, qui fructus operum ferant. Non ergo ex operibus radix iustitiæ, sed ex radice iustitiæ fructus operum creſcit: illa scilicet radice iustitiæ, cui Deus atque pater fert iusticiam sine operibus. Idem Rom. 4. u. Columban. in Adonitibus. x. Pers. thye Conuers. part. 1. chap. 3. sect. 10. y. Hæc enim progeniem Scotiæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinâ. Hieron. proæn. lib. 3. commentar. in Jerem. x. Vnquam quem iuc adiutriciam voluntate propriâ regi; tantumque accipere gratiæ, quantum meruerit. Morian. Scot. Chron. ad an. Dom. 413. vel 414. whereof see more particularly, the Answer to the Jesuite, in the question of Free-will.

faith (saith he) when it hath bene iustified, sticketh in the soyle of the soule, like a roote which hath receiued a shoure: that when it hath begunne to be manured by the law of God, it may rise up againe into bowes, which may beare the fruit of workes. Therefore the roote of righteousness doth not grow out of workes, but the fruit of workes out of the roote of righteousness; namely out of that roote of righteousness, which God doth accept for righteousness without workes. The conclusion is: that saving faith is alwaies a fruitfull faith; and though it never goe alone, yet may there be some gift of God, which it alone is able to reach unto. as ^u Columbanus also implieth in that verse:

Sola fides fidei dono ditabitur almo.

The greatest depressers of Gods grace, and the advancers of mans abilities, were *Pelagius* and *Celestius*; the one borne in *Brittaine* (as appeareth by *Prosper Aquitains*) the other in *Scotland* or *Ireland*; as ^x *Mr. Persons* doth gather out of those words of *S. Hieron* in one of the Prefaces of his commentaries (not upon *Ezechiel*, as he quoteth it, but) upon *Jeremy*. *He hath his off-spring from the Scottish nation, neere to the Britains.* These hereticks (as our *Marianus* noteth out of *Prosper*, in his *Chronicle*) preached, among other of their impieties, ^x that for attaining of righteousness every one was governed by his owne will, and received so much grace as he did merit. Whole venemous doctrine was in *Brittaine* repressed, first by *Palladius*, *Exuper*,

quem iuc adiutriciam voluntate propriâ regi; tantumque accipere gratiæ, quantum meruerit. Morian. Scot. Chron. ad an. Dom. 413. vel 414. whereof see more particularly, the Answer to the Jesuite, in the question of Free-will.

Germanus

Germanus and Severus from abroad; afterward, by David Menevensis, and his successors at home agreeably to whose institution, *Affer. Menevensis* doth profess, that God is alwaies to bee esteemed both the mover of the will, and the bestower of the good that is willed. for hee is (saith hee) ^a the instigator of all good wills, and wishall the most bountifull provider that the good things desired may bee had: forasmuch as hee would never stirre up any to will well, unlesse hee did also liberally supply that which every one doth well and justly desire to obtaine.

Among our Irish, the grounds of sound doctrine in these points were at the beginning well settled by *Palladius* and *Patricius*, ^b sent hither by *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome. And when the poyson of the Pelagian heresie, about two hundred yeares after that, beganne to breake out among them: the Clergie of Rome in the yeare of our Lord D C XXX I X. (during the vacancie of the See, upon the death of *Severinus*) directed their letters unto them, for the preventing of this growing mischiefe. Wherein among other things they put them in minde, that ^d it is both blasphemy and folly to say, that a man is without sinne: which none at all can say, but that one mediator betwixt God and man, the man Christ Iesus, who was conceived and borne without sinne. Which is agreeable, partly to that of *Claudius*; that ^e it is manifest unto all wise men, although it bee contradicted by heretickes, that there is none who can live upon earth without the touch of some

to est conceptus & partus. *Epist. Cler. Roman. apud Bedam, lib. 1. dist. cap. 19.*
 omnibus sapientibus patet, licet heretici contradicant: nemo est, qui sine adactu alicuius peccati vivere possit super terram. *Claud. lib. 2. in Math.*

f Nullus electus & ita magnus, quem Diabolus non audeat acculare: nisi illum solum, qui peccatum non fecit, qui & dicebat; Nunc venit princeps huius mundi, & in me nihil invenit. *Sedul.*
in Rom. 8.

g Non potest impleri. *Id. in Rom. 7.*

h Non est qui faciat bonum, hoc est, perfectum & integrum bonum. *Id. in Rom. 3.*

i Ad hoc nos elegit, ut essemus sancti & immaculati, in futurâ vitâ; quoniam Ecclesia Christi non habebit maculam neque rugam. Licet etiam in præsentî vitâ iusti, & sancti, &

immaculati, quamvis non ex toto, tamen ex parte, non inconuenienter dici possunt. *Id. in Ephef. 1.* k Tunc erit iustus sine ullo omnino peccato, quando nulla lex erit in membris eius, repugnans legi mentis eius. *Claud. in Gal. 5.* l Non enim iam regnat peccatum in eorum mortali corpore ad obediendum desideriis eius: quamvis habitet in eodem mortali corpore peccatum, nondum extincto impetu consuetudinis naturalis, quâ mortaliter nati sumus, & ex propriis vitæ nostræ, cum & nos ipsi peccando auximus quod ab origine peccati humani damnationis trahebamus. *Id. ibid.* m Vocatione Dei, non merito facti. *Sedulius. Rô. 1.* n Secundum virtutem quæ operatur in nobis, non secundum merita nostra. *Id. in Ephef. 3.*

sinne: partly to that of *Sedulius*, that ^e there is none of the elect so great, whom the Diuell doth not dare to accuse, but him alone who did no sinne, and who said; *The Prince of this world commeth now, and in mee hee findeth nothing.*

For touching the imperfection of our sanctification in this life, these men held the same that wee doe: to wit, that the Law ^g cannot be fulfilled; that ^h there is none that doth good, that is to say, perfect and entire good. that ⁱ Gods elect shall be perfectly holy and immaculate in the life to come, where the Church of Christ shall have no spot nor wrinkle: whereas in this present life they are righteous, holy, and immaculate, not wholly, but in part only. that ^k the righteous shall then be without all kinde of sinne, when there shall be no law in their members, that shall resist the law of their minde. that although ^l sinne doe not now reigne in their mortall body to obey the desires thereof: yet sin dwelleth in that mortall body, the force of that naturall custome being not yet extinguished, which we have gotten by our originall, and increased by our actual transgressions. And as for the matter of *merit*: *Sedulius* doth resolve us out of *S. Paul*, that we are Saints ^m by the calling of God, not by the merit of our deed; that God is able to do exceeding abundantly above that we aske or think, ⁿ according to the power that worketh in us, not according to our me-

rits ; that ^o what soever men have from God, is grace, ^o Sciendum because they have nothing of due ; and that ^e nothing est, quia omne can bee found worthy or to bee compared with the glorie homines a Deo, gratia est : nihil enim ex

debito habent. *Id. in Rom. 16.* p Nihil dignum inveniri vel comparati ad futuram glori- am potest. *Id. in Rom. 8.*

CHAP. III.

Of Purgatory, and Prayer for the dead.

THe next Point that offereth it selfe unto our con- sideration, is that of *Purgatory*. Whereof if any man doe doubt ; ^a *Casarius* (a Germane Monke of the Cistercian order) adviseth him for his resolution to make a journey into *Scotland* (the greater *Scotland* he meaneth) and there to enter into *S. Patricks Purgatory* : and then he giveth him his word, that he shall no more doubt of the paines of *Purgatory*. If Doctor *Terry* (who commendeth this unto us as the testimony of ^b a most famous Author) should chance to have a doubtfull thought hereafter of the pains of *Purgatory* ; I would wish his ghostly Father to injoyne him no other penance, but the undertaking of a pilgrimage unto *S. Patricks purgatorie* ; to see whether he would prove any wiser when he came from thence, than when he went thither. In the meane time, untill he hath made some further experiment of the matter, he shall give me leave to beleieve him that hath beene there, and hath cause to know the place as wel as any (the Iland wherein it is seated, being held by him as a part of the inheritance descended unto him from his an-

^a Qui de Purgatorio dubitat, Scotiam pergar, Purgatorium sancti Patricii intret, & de Purgatorio penitus amplius non dubitabit. *Cesar. Heisterbach. Dialog. lib. 1. cap. 38.*

^b Cujus loci fama, irasparsum per omnes Europæ partes velare vix est ; ut *Casarius* celeberrimus auctor, de conhil dubitans sic scribat. *Guil. Thyrans, in Discursu Panegyric. de S. Patricio pag. 151.*

fraid, that wee would conclude upon the same ground; that S. Patrick was carefull to plant in mens minds the beleefe of Heaven and Hell, but of Purgatory taught them never a word. And sure I am, that in the booke ascribed unto him, *De tribus habitaculis*, (which is to be seene in his Majesties Librarie) there is no mention of any other place after this life, but of these two only. I will lay downe here the beginning of that treatise; and leave it to the judgement of any indifferent man, whether it can well stand with that which the Romanists teach concerning Purgatorie at this day. *¶ There be three habitations under the power of Almighty God: the first, the lowermost, and the middle. The highest whereof is called the Kingdome of God, or the Kingdome of Heaven, the lowermost is termed Hell, the middle is named the present World, or the circuit of the earth. The extremes whereof are altogether contrary one to another: (for what fellowship can there be betwixt light and darkenesse, betwixt Christ and Belial?) but the middle hath some similitude with the extremes. For in this world there is a mixture of the bad and of the good together. whereas in the Kingdome of God there are none bad, but all good: but in Hell there are none good, but all bad. And both those places are sup-
plied out of the middle. For of the men of this world,*

societas potest esse luci ad tenebras, & Christo ad Belial?) medium vero nonnullam habet similitudinem ad extrema, &c. Communio namque malorum simul & bonorum in hoc mundo est. In regno autem Dei nulli mali sunt, sed omnes boni: at in Inferno nulli boni sunt, sed omnes mali. Ex utroque locus ex medio suppletur. Humani enim huius mundi alii elevantur ad Cælum, alii trahuntur ad Infernum. Similes quippe similibus iunguntur, id est, boni bonis, & mali malis; iusti homines iustis angelis, transgressores homines transgressis angelis; servi dei Deo, servi diaboli Diabolo. Benedicti vocantur ad regnum, impii parati ab origine mundi; maledicti expelluntur in ignem æternum, qui preparatus est Diabolo & angelis eius. Patris. de tribus habitaculis. MS. in Bibl. habet & Regis laus et.

*¶ Tria sunt sub
omnipotentis
Dei nutu habi-
tacula; primum,
medium, medium.
Quorum sum-
mum, regnum
Dei vel regni
Cælorum di-
tur, imum voca-
tur Infernus,
medium Mun-
dus præsens vel
Orbis terrarum
appellatur.*

*Quorum ex-
trema omnino
sibi invicem
sunt contraria,
& nullâ sibi so-
cietate con-
iunguntur.*

some are lifed up to Heaven, others are drawne downe to Hell. namely, like are joyned unto like, that is to say, good to good, and bad to bad: just men to just Angels, wicked men to wicked Angels; the servants of God to God, the servants of the Diuell to the Diuell. The blessed are called to the Kingdome prepared for them from the beginning of the world: the cursed are driven into the everlasting fire that is prepared for the Diuell and his angels. Thus tarre there.

Hitherto also may be referred that ancient Canon of one of our Irish Synods, wherein it is affirmed, that the soule being separated from the body is ^h presented before the judgement seat of Christ, who rendereth it owne unto it, according as it hath done: and that neither the Archangel can leade it unto life, untill the Lord hath iudged it; nor the Diuell transport it unto paine, unlesse the Lord doe damne it. as the sayings of Sedulius likewise; that after the end of this life, ⁱ eyther death or life succeedeth, and that ^k death is the gate by which wee enter into our kingdome: together with that of Claudius; that ^l Christ did take upon him our punishment without the guilt, that thereby wee might loose our guilt, and finish also our punishment. Cardinall Bellarmine indeed alledgeth here against us the vision of Furseus: who ^m rising from the dead, told many things, which he saw concerning the paines of purgatory, as Bede, he saith, doth write. But, by his good leave, we will be better

In Custodia animam usque dum steterit ante tribunal Christi; cui referet sua prout gesserit propria. Nec archangelus potest ducere ad vitam, usque dum iudicaverit eam Dominus; nec Zabulus ad poenam traducere, nisi Dominus damnaverit eam. Synod. Hibern. in vet. cod. Canonum, titulum 66. MS. in Bibliotheca D. Roberti Cottoni. Cuius initium:

Inter vetera Concilia, quatuor esse venerabiles Synodos, &c. i. Finem dixit exitum vitæ & actuum; cui aut mors, aut vita succedit. Sedul. in Rom. 7. k. Mors porta est, per quam itur ad regnum. Id. in 1. Cor. 3. l. Suscepit Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum; ut inde solveret reatum nostrum, & finiret etiam supplicium nostrum. Claud. in Galat. 3. m. Bede lib. 3. hist. Anglor. cap. 19. scribit, B. Furseum a mortuis resurgentem narrasse multa, quæ vidit de purgatorii poenis. Bellarm. de Purgator. lib. 1. cap. 11.

advised,

others that lived within these last five hundred years; come not within the compasse of our present inquirie: nor yet the fables that have beene framed in those times, touching the lives and actions of elder Saints; whereof no wise man will make any reckoning. Such (for example) is that which we read in the life of St. Brendan: that the question being moved in his hearing, *Whether the sinnes of the dead could be redeemed by the prayers or almes-deeds of their friends remaining in this life* (for that was still a question in the Church:) he is said to have told them, that on a certaine night, as hee sayled in the great Ocean, the soule of one Colman * (who had beene an angry Monke, and a sower of discord betwixt brethren) appeared unto him; who complaining of his grievous torments, intreated that prayers might be made to God for him, and after fixe dayes thankfully acknowledged that by meanes thereof hee had gotten into heaven. Whereupon it is concluded, *that the prayer of the living doth profit much the dead.* But of S. Brendans sea-pilgrimage, we have the censure of Molanus a learned Romanist; that there bee *many apocryphall fooleries* in it: and whosoever readeth the same with any judgement, cannot choose but pronounce of it, as Photius doth of the strange narrations of Damascius, formerly mentioned; that it containeth not only apocryphall, but also *impossible, incredible, ill-composed, and monstrous fooleries.* Whereof though the old Legend it selfe were not free (as by the heads thereof, touched by Glaber Rodulphus and Giraldus Cambrensis, may appeare) yet for the tale that I recited out of the *New Legend of England*, I can say, that

f Si peccata mortuorum redimi possunt ab amicis suis remanentibus in hac vita; orando, vel elemosynas faciendo. *Vit. Brendani, in Legendâ Io. Cap. gravii.*

t Colmannus, inquit, vocor: qui sui Monachus iracundus, discordiarumque seminator inter fratres. *Ibid.*

u In hoc ergo, dilectissimi, apparet: quod oratio vivorum multum mortuis prodest. *Ib.*

x Multa apocrypha deliramenta. *Molan.*

in *Usuard. martyrol. Mai. 16.*

y *Διὸνυσος ὁ ἁγίος ἀνδρῶν, ὁ ἁγίος Νικηταὶς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.*

z *Phof. Bibliothec. num.*

130.

z Nova Legenda Angliæ. *impres. Londin. 1516.*

that in the *manuscript* books which I have met with all here, in St. Brendans owne country, (one whereof was transcribed for the use of the Friars minors of *Kilkenny*, about the yeere of our Lord 1350.) there is not the least footstep thereof to be seene.

And this is a thing very observable in the ancient lives of our Saints (such I meane, as have beene written before the time of Sathans loosing; beyond which we doe not now looke;) that the prayers and oblations for the dead mentioned therein, are expressly noted to have beene made for them, whose soules were supposed at the same instant to have rested in blisse. So *Adamnanus* reporteth, that Saint *Colme* (called by the Irish, both in ^a *Bedes* and our dayes, *Colum-kille*) ^b caused all things to be prepared, for the sacred ministry of the Eucharist; when he had seene the soule of St. *Brendan* received by the holy Angels: and that hee did the like, when *Columbanus* Bishop of *Leinster* departed this life. for I must to day (saith St. *Colme* ^c there) although I bee unworthy, celebrate the holy mysteries of the Eucharist, for the reverence of that soule which this night, carried beyond the starry firmament betwixt the holy *Quires* of Angels, ascended into Paradise. Whereby it appeareth, that an honourable commemoration of the dead was herein intended, and a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their salvation rather than of propitiation for their sinnes. In *Bede* also wee finde mention of the like obsequies celebrated by St. *Cuthbert* for one *Hadwaldus*; after ^d he had seene his soule carried by the hands of

^a Qui videlicet Columba nunc à nonnullis, composito à cella & Columba nomine, Colum-celli vocatur. *Bed.*

^b *Adamnan. lib. 3. hist. ca. 10. vit. Columb. lib. 3. cap. 13.*

^c Meque (ait) hodie, quamlibet indignus sum, ob venerationem illius animæ, quæ hæc in nocte inter sanctos Angelorum choros vecta ultra fiderea cælorum spatia ad Paradisum ascendit, sacra

oportet Eucharistiæ celebrare mysteria. *ib. cap. 16.* ^d Vidi, inquit, animam cujusdam sancti manibus Angelicis ad gaudia regni cœlestis ferri. *Bede in vit. Cuthbert. cap. 34.*

Angels

Angels unto the joyes of the kingdome of heaven. So Gallus and Magnus (as *Walafridus Strabus* relateth in the life of the one, and *Theodorus Campidonensis*, or whosoever else was author of the life of the other) ^e said Masse (which what it was in those dayes wee shall afterward heare) and were instant in prayers for the commemoration of Abbat *Columbanus* their countryman; ^f frequenting the memory of that great Father, with holy prayers, and healthfull sacrifices. Where that speech of Gallus unto his Deacon Magnus or Magnoaldus, is worthy of speciall consideration: ^g After this nights watch, I understood by a vision, that my master and father *Columbanus* is to day departed out of the miseries of this life unto the joyes of Paradise. For his rest therefore I ought to offer the sacrifice of salvation. In like manner also, when Gallus himselfe dyed; ^h Iohn Bishop of Constance prayed to the Lord for his rest, and offered healthfull sacrifices for him: although he were certainly perswaded that he had attained the blessing of everlasting life; as may bee seene in *Walafridus*. And when Magnus afterwards was in his death bed, hee is said to have used these words unto *Tozzo* Bishop of *Ausborough*, that came to visit him. ⁱ Doe not weepe, reverend Prelate,

e Coeperunt missas agere, & precibus insistere pro commemoratione B. Columbani. *Walafrid. Vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 26. Theodor. vit. Magni. li. 1. cap. ult. edit. Goldasti. c. 12. Canisii.* f Deinde tanti patris memoriam precibus sacris & sacrificiis salutaribus frequentaverunt. *Ibid.*

g Post hujus vigiliis noctis, cognovi per visionem, Dominum & patrem meum Columbanum de hujus vitae angustis hodie ad Paradisi gaudia

commigrasse. Pro eo itaque requie sacrificium salutis debeo immolare. *Ibid.* h Presbyter cum ut surgeret monuit, & pro requie defuncti ambitiosius Dominum precaretur. Intraverunt itaque Ecclesias, & princeps pro carissimo salutes hostias immolavit amico. Finito autem fraternae commemorationis obsequio, &c. *Walafrid. Strab. vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 30. qui etiam addit postea, Discipulus ejus, pariter cum Episcopo orationem pro illo fecisse. cap. 33.* i Noli flere, venerabilis praesul, quia me in tot mundalium perturbationum procellis laborantem conspicis: quoniam credo in misericordia Dei, quod anima mea in immortalitatis libertate sit gavisura. tamen deprecor, ut orationibus tuis sanctis me peccatorem & animam meam non desinas adjuvare. *Theodor. Campidon. vel quicumque auctor fuit vite Magni, lib. 1. cap. 13. edit. Goldasti, cap. 28. Canisii.*

because

because thou beholdest me labouring in so many stormes of worldly troubles : because I beleve in the mercy of God, that my soule shall rejoyce in the freedome of immortalitie. yet I beseech thee, that thou wilt not cease to helpe mee a sinner and my soule with thy holy prayers. Then followeth : that at the time of his departure, this voice was heard, ^k Come, Magnus, come, receive the crowne which the Lord hath prepared for thee. and that thereupon *Torzo* said unto *Theodorus* (the supposed writer of this history) ^l Let us cease weeping, brother ; because wee ought rather to rejoyce, having heard this signe of the receiuing of his soule unto immortality, than to make lamentation. but let us goe to the Church, and be carefull to offer healthfull sacrifices to the Lord for so deare a friend.

I dispute not of the credit of these particular passages : it is sufficient, that the authors from whom wee have received them, lived within the compasse of those times, whereof wee now doe treat. For thereby it is plaine enough (and if it be not, it shall elsewhere be made yet more plaine) that in those elder dayes it was an usuall thing, to make prayers and oblations for the rest of those soules, which were not doubted to have beene in glorie : and consequently, that neither the *Commemoration* nor the *Praying for the dead*, nor the *Requiem Masses* of that age, have any necessary relation to the beleefe of *Purgatory*. The lesson therefore which *Claudius* teacheth us here out of *Saint Hierome*, is very good : that ^m while wee are in this present world, wee may bee

adjuvari : cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Iob, nec Daniel, nec Noe, rogare posse pro quoquam ; sed unumquemque portare onus suum. *Claudius Gal. 6.*

k Veni, Magne, veni ; accipe coronam quam tibi Dominus paratam habet.

ibid.

l Cessamus flere, frater ; quia potius nos oportet gaudere de animæ ejus in immortalitate sumptæ hoc signo auditum, quam luctum facere : sed eamus ad Ecclesiam, & pro tam charissimo amico salutare hostias Domino immolare studeamus. Finito itaque fraternæ commemorationis obsequio, &c.

ibid.

m Dum in presenti seculo sumus, five orationibus, five consiliis invicem posse nos

able

able to helpe one another, either by our prayers or by our counsailes, but when wee shall come before the Iudgment seate of Christ, neither Iob, nor Daniel, nor Noah can intreate for any one, but every one must beare his owne burden. and the advice which the no lesse learned than godly Abbat Columbanus giveth us, is verie safe: not to pitch upon uncertainties hereafter, but now to trust in God, and follow the precepts of Christ, while our life doth yet remaine, and while the times, wherein we may obtaine salvation, are certaine.

n. Columban. in
epist. ad Hual-
dum.

*Vive Deo fidens (saith he) Christi precepta sequēdo;
Dum modo vita manet, dum tempora certa salutis.*

Whereunto Iohn the Briton (another son of Sulgen Bishop of St. Davids) seemeth also to have had an eye, when (at the end of the Poëme which he wrote of his owne and his fathers life) he prayeth for himselfe in the same manner:

*Vt genitor clemens solita pietate remittat
Factis aut dictis quæ gessi corde nefando;
Dum mihi vita manet, dum flendi flumina possunt.
Nam cum tartareis nullius cura subintrat.*

CHAP. IV.

*Of the Worship of God, the publicke forme of Liturgie,
the Sacrifice and Sacrament of the Lords Supper.*

Touching the worship of God, Sedulius delivereth this generall rule: that to adore any other beside the Father, and the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, is
a Adorare alium præter Patrem & Filium, & Spiritum sanctum, impietatis crimen est. Sedul. Rom. 1.

the

the crime of impiety; and that ^ball that the soule oweth unto God, if it bestow it upon any beside God, it committeth adultery. More particularly, in the matter of Images, ^chee reproveth the wise men of the heathen, for thinking that they had found out a way, how the invisible God might bee worshipped by a visible image: with whom also accordeth Claudius; that ^dGod is to bee knowne, neither in mettall nor in stone. and for Oathes, there is a Canon ascribed to Saint Patricke; wherein it is determined, that ^eno creature is to bee sworn by, but onely the Creator. As for the forme of the Liturgie or publicke service of God, which the same St. Patrick brought into this country: it is said, that hee received it from Germanus and Lupus; and that it originally descended from S. Marke the Evangelist. for so have I seene it set downe in an ancient fragment, written wellnigh 900. yeeres since: remaining now in the Library of Sir Robert Cotton, my worthy friend; who can never sufficiently bee commended, for his extraordinary care, in preserving all rare monuments of this kinde. Yea St. Hieromes authority is there vouched for prooffe hereof. *Beatus Hieronymus adfirmat, quod ipsum cursum, qui dicitur praesente tempore Scottorum, beatus Marcus decantavit.* which being not now to bee found in any of Saint Hieromes workes, the truth thereof I leave unto the credit of the reporter.

But whatsoever Liturgie was used here at first: this is sure, that in the succeeding ages no one generall forme of divine service was retained, but diverse rites and manners of celebrations were observed in diverse parts of this Kingdome; untill the *Romane* use

b Totum quod debet Deo anima, si alicui praeferat Deum reddiderit, meretur. Id. in Rom. 2.
c Recedentes à lumine veritatis sapientes; quasi qui invenerunt, quo modo invisibilis Deus per simulacrum visibile coleretur. Id. in Rom. 1.
d Deus non in manufactis habitat, nec in metallo aut laxo cognoscitur. Claud. lib. 2. in Oath.
e Non adjurandam esse creaturam alicuiam, nisi creatorem. yoad. Patric. can. 23. MS.

use was brought in at last by *Gillebertus*, and *Malachias*, and *Christianus*, who were the Popes Legates here about 500. yeeres agoe. This *Gillebertus* (an old acquaintance of *Anselm* Archbishop of Canterbury) in the Prologue of his booke *De usu Ecclesiastico*, directed to the whole Clergie of Ireland, writeth in this manner. *g* At the request, yea and at the command of many of you (dearely beloved) I endeavoured to set downe in writing the Canonick custome in saying of Houres, and performing the Office of the whole Ecclesiasticall Order; not presumptuously, but in desire to serve your most godly command: to the end that those diverse and schismaticall Orders, wherewith in a manner all Ireland is deluded, may give place to one Catholicke and *Romane* Office. For ~~what~~ may bee said to bee more undecent or schismaticall, than that the most learned in one order, should bee made as a private and lay man in another mans Church?

These beginnings were presently seconded by *Malachias*: in whose life, written by *Bernard*, wee reade as followeth. *h* The Apostolicall constitutions, and the decrees of the holy Fathers, but especially the customs of the holy Church of Rome, did he establish in all Churches. And hence it is, that at this day the Canon-

f *Anselm* lib. 3. epist. 143.
g *Episcopis*,
presbyteris to-
sius Hiberniæ,
intimus præ-
sulum *Gille*
Lunigenis in
Christo salutē.
Rogatu, nec
non & præcep-
to multorum
ex vobis (Cha-
rissimi) cano-
nicalem con-
suetudinem in
dicendis Horis,
& peragendo
totius Ecclesi-
astici ordinis
officio, scribere
conatus sum;
non præsump-
tivo, sed vestre
cupiens piissi-
mæ servire jus-
sioni: ut diversi
& schismatici
illi Ordines,
quibus Hiber-
nia pendē tota
dehula est, uni Catholico & Romano cedant officio. Quid enim magis indecens aut schisma-
ticum dici poterit; quàm doctissimum unius ordinis in alterius Ecclesiâ idiotam & laicum
fieri? &c. Prolog. *Gille* fuit *Gilleberti Lunigenis* episc. *De usu Ecclesiastico*. MS. in Colleg. S. Be-
nedicti, & publicæ academici Cantabrigiensi Bibliothecæ. h Apostolicas sanctiones
ac decreta sanctorum patrum, præcipueque consuetudines sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ in
cunctis ecclesiis statuebat. Hinc est quod hodieque in illis ad horas canonicas cantatur &
psallitur juxta morem universæ terræ: nam minimè idcirco ficta, ne in civitate quidem.
Ipse verò in adolescentiâ cantum didicerat, & in suo conobio mox cantari fecit; cum
necesse in civitate seu in episcopatu universo cantare scirent, vel vellent. *Bernard* in
vita *Malachie*.

call Hounes are chanted and sung therein, according to the manner of the whole earth: whereas before that, this was not done, no not in the Citie it selfe. (the poore city of Ardmagh he meaneth.) But Malachias had learned song in his youth, and shortly after caused singing to be used in his own Monasterie; when as yet, as well in the citie as in the whole Bishoprick, they eyther knew not, or would not sing. Lastly, the worke was brought to perfection, when Christianus Bishop of Lismore, as Legate to the Pope, was President in the Councell of Cashell: wherein a speciall order was taken for the right singing of the Ecclesiasticall Office; and a generall act established, that all divine offices of holy Church should from thenceforth be handled in all parts of Ireland, according as the Church of England did observe them. The statutes of which Councell were confirmed by the Regali authoritie of King Henry the second; by whose mandate, the Bishops that met therein were assembled, in the yeare of our Lord 1171. as Giraldus Cambrensis witnesseth, in his historie of the Conquest of Ireland. And thus late was it, before the Romane use was fully settled in this Kingdome.

That the Britons used another manner in the administration of the Sacrament of Baptisme than the Romanes did: appeareth by the proposition made unto them by Austin the Monke; that they should performe the ministrie of baptisme, according to the custome of the Church of Rome. That their forme of Li-

umphantoris mandato, in civitate Cassiliensi convenimus. Id. ibid. baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, iuxta morem Sanctæ Romanæ & Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ consuevit. Bed. lib. 5. Histor. cap. 3.

i Officium est
am Ecclesiasti-
cum ritè mo-
dum standum sta-
tuerunt. Iohann.
Brampton. in
Iohannis sibi
rid. MS.
k Omnia divi-
na ad instar
sa. rolandæ
Ecclesiæ, iuxta
quod Anglica-
na observat Ec-
clesia, in omni-
bus partibus
Hiberniæ amo-
do tractentur.
Girald. Cambr.
Hibern. exp. g-
nat. lib. 1. cap. 34.
l Concilii sta-
tuta sub scripta
sunt, & Regis
sublimitatis
authoritate
firmata Id. ibid.
m Ex ipsius tri-
b. Vt ministerium

Per univer-
sum orbē terra-
rum, in Ecclesiā
ordo curius
Gallorum dis-
fusus est. Frag-
ment. de Ecclesi-
asticorum officio-
rum origine.

MS. Bibliotheca
Cottoniana.

p. Gildas ait.
Britones toti
munda contra-
rii moribus Ro-
manis inimici
non solum in
Missa, sed cri-
as in consura.
Cod. Communi-
titulorum 66.

MS. in eadem
Bibliotheca
q. Adamnan.
Vr. Columb.
lib. 3. cap. 31.

1. Leon. Tactis.
cap. 11. sect. 18.

C. Adamnan.
Vr. Columb. lib.
3. cap. 15.

turgie was the same with that which was received by their neighbours the *Galls*, is intimated by the Author of that ancient fragment before alledged: who also addeth, that the^o *Gallican Order* was received in the Church throughout the whole world. Yet elsewhere doe I meeete with a sentence alledged out of *Gildas*; that the Britons were contrary to the whole world; and enemies to the Roman customes, aswell in their *Mass*, as in their *Tonsure*.

Where to let passe what I have collected touching the difference of these *tonsures* (as a matter of very small moment eyther way) and to speake somewhat of the *Mass* (for which so great adoe is now adayes made by our Romanists) wee may observe in the first place, that the publike *Liturgie* or service of the Church, was of old named the *Mass*: even then also, when prayers only were said, without the celebration of the holy Communion. So the last *Mass* that *S. Colme* was ever present at, is noted by *q. Adamnanus* to have beene *vespertinalis Dominica noctis Missa*. He dyed the *mid-night* following; whence the Lords day rooke his beginning (9^o viz. *Iunii, Anno Dom. 597.*) according to the account of the Romanes: which the *Scottish* and *Irish* seeme to have begunne from the evening going before. and then was that evening-*Mass* said: which in all likelihood, differed not from those *hymenals* mentioned by *Leo* the Emperour in his *Tacticks*, that is to say, from that which we call *Even-song*, or *Evening prayer*. But the name of the *Mass* was in those daies more specially applied to the administration of the Lords Supper: & therefore in the same *Adamnanus* we see that *Sacra*
Encharistia.

Eucharistia ministeria and *Missarum solemnia*, the sacred ministerie of the Eucharist and the solemnities of the Masse, are taken for the same thing. So likewise in the relation of the passages that concerne the obsequies of Columbanus, performed by Gallus and Magnoaldus; we finde that *Missam celebrare* and *Missas agere*, is made to be the same with *Divina celebrare mysteria* and *Salutis hostiam* (or *salutare sacrificium*) *immolare*: the saying of Masse, the same with the celebration of the divine mysteries and the oblation of the healthfull sacrifice. for by that terme was the administration of the sacrament of the Lords Supper at that time usually designed.

For as in our beneficence, and communicating unto the necessities of the poore (which are sacrifices wherewith God is well pleased) wee are taught to give both our selves and our almes, first unto the Lord, and after unto our brethren by the will of God: so is it in this ministry of the blessed Sacrament. the service is first presented unto God, (from which, as from a most principall part of the dutie, the sacrament it selfe is called the *Eucharist*; because therein wee offer a speciall sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving alwaies unto God) and then communicated unto the use of Gods people. in the performance of which part of the service, both the minister was said to give, and the communicant to receive the sacrifice: as well as in respect of the former part, they were said to offer the same unto the Lord. For they did not distinguish the Sacrifice from the Sacrament, as the Romanists doe now adayes: but used the name of Sacrifice indifferently, both of that which

z Præceptor
mens B. Co-
lumbanus in
vatis æneis Do-
mino solet sa-
crificium of-
ferre salutis.
wulfriid. Strab.
Pit. Gall. lib. 1.
cap. 19.

a Testamentū
Episcopi sive
principis est;
10. scriptuli Sa-
cerdoti danti
sibi sacrificium.
Synod. Hibern. in
vet. lib. Canonum
Cottanien. titu-
lorum 66.

b Qui in vitā
suā non incre-
ditur sacrificiū
accipere: quo-
modo post
mortem illi po-
test adjuvare?

Synod. Patric.
cap. 12. MS.

c. Invicem ex-
pectate, id est,
usque quo sa-
crificium acci-
piatis. Sedul. in
1 Cor. 11.

d Gravi infir-
mitate depre-
ssus, a suis com-
munitus est vi-
cinis, ut iuxta morem susciperet sacrificium communionis. Ex vitā S. Samsonis MS. in libro
Panderensis Ecclesiæ veter. Titulo. n. Ezech. 13. 10.

was offered unto God, and of that which was given to and received by the communicant. Therefore wee read of offering the sacrifice to God: as in that speech of Gallus to his scholler Magnoaldus, * My master Columbanus is accustomed to offer unto the Lord the sacrifice of salvation in brasen vessels. Of giving the sacrifice to man: as when it is said in one of the ancient Synods of Ireland, that * a Bishop by his Testament may bequeath a certaine proportion of his goods for a legacie to the Priest that giveth him the sacrifice, and of receiving the sacrifice from the hands of the minister: as in that sentence of the Synod attributed unto S. Patrick; ^b He who deserueth not to receive the sacrifice in his life, how can it helpe him after his death? and in that glosse of Sedulius upon 1. Cor. 11. 33. * Carry one for another, that is, (saith he) untill you doe receive the sacrifice. and in the Britissh antiquities: where we read of Amon a noble man in Wales (father to Samson the Saint of Dole in little Brittain) that ^d being taken with a grievous sicknesse, hee was admonished by his neighbours, that according to the usuall manner he should receive the sacrifice of the communion. Whereby it doth appeare, that the sacrifice of the elder times was not like unto the new Masse of the Romanists, wherein the Priest alone doth all; but unto our Communion, where others also have free libertie given unto them to ^e eat of the Altar, as well as they that serve the Altar.

Again, they that are communicants in the Romish sacrament, receive the Eucharist in one kinde onely:

the

the Priest in offering of the sacrifice receiveth the same distinctly, both by way of meat and by way of drinke; which they tell us ^f is chiefly done, for the integritie of the Sacrifice and not of the Sacrament. For in the Sacrifice, they say, ^g the severall elements be consecrated, not into Christs whole person as it was borne of the Virgin or now is in heaven: but the bread into his body apart, as betrayed, broken, and given for us; the wine into his blood apart, as shed out of his bodie for remission of sinnes and dedication of the new Testament, which be conditions of his person as hee was in sacrifice and oblation. But our ancestours, in the use of their Sacrament, received the Eucharist in both kinds: not being so acute as to discern betwixt the things that belonged unto the integritie of the sacrifice and of the sacrament; because in very truth, they tooke the one to be the other.

Thus Bede relateth, that one Hildmer, an officer of Egfrid King of Northumberland, intreated our Cuthbert ^a to send a Priest that might minister the sacraments of the Lords body and blood unto his wife that then lay a dying: and Cuthbert himselfe, immediately before his owne departure out of this life, received the communion of the Lords body and blood; as ^b Herefride Abbat of the monasterie of Lindisfarne (who was the man that at that time ministred the sacrament unto him) made report unto the same Bede, who elsewhere also particularly noteth, that he then tasted of the cup.

nam suam, quem iam venisse cognovit, Dominici corporis & sanguinis communionem manavit, *ibid.* cap. 39.

^f Id fit potissimum ob sacrificii, non ob Sacramenti integritatem. *Zel. larm. de sacrament. Eucharist. lib. 4. cap. 22. in fine.*

^g Rhen. annotat. in Matth. 26.

^b Mittas presbyterum qui illam, penitus quam moritur, visitet; et que Dominici corporis & sanguinis sacramenta ministrat. *Bede de Vita Cuthbert. pref. cap. 15.*

ⁱ Accipis a me sacramentis salutaribus et

k Bed. de Vit.
Cuthbert. carn.
cap. 36.

* Pocula degustat vite, Christieque sapinum
Sanguine munit iter.

lest any man should thinke, that under the formes of bread alone he might be said to have been partaker of the body and blood of the Lord, by way of *Concomitance*: which is a toy, that was not once dreamed of in those daies. So that we need not to doubt, what is meant by that which wee read in the booke of the life of *Furseus* (which was written before the time of Bede) that *he received the communion of the holy body and blood*; and that hee was wished to admonish the Pastors of the Church, that they should strengthen the soules of the faithfull with the spiri-
all food of doctrine, and the participation of the holy body and blood. or of that which *Cogitosus* writeth in the life of Saint *Brigid*, touching the place in the Church of *Kildare*, whereunto the Abbatesse with her maidens and widowes used to resort, that they might enjoy the banquet of the body and blood of Iesus Christ: which was agreeable to the practice, not only of the Nunneries founded beyond the seas according to the rule of *Columbanus*; where the Virgins received the body of the Lord, and sipped his blood (as appeareth by that which *Jonas* relateth of *Domna*, in the life of *Burgundisfora*;) but also of S. *Brigid* her selfe, who was the foundresse of the monastorie of *Kildare*; one of whose miracles is reported, even in the later Legends, to have happened when shee was

i Petivitque
& accepit sacri
corporis &
sanguinis com-
munionem.
Author antiqu.
Vita Fursei.
m Principes &
doctores Ec-
clesiæ Christi,
animas fide-
lium ad peni-
tentia lamen-
tum post culpa-
rum provocent;
& eas spiritali
pastu doctrinae,
ac sacri corpo-
ris & sanguinis
participatione
solidius reddant.
ibid.
n Per alterum
estum Abba-
tissæ consilio
puellis & viduis
fidelibus con-
silio daretur.

(By invitation) ut convivio corporis & sanguinis fruatur Iesu Christi. Cogitos. vit. Brigid.
Qandem ex his nomine Domna, cum iam corpus Domini accepisset, ac sanguinem li-
basset. Im. Vit. Burgundisfor.

about

about to *drinke out of the Chalice*, at the time of her receiving of the *Eucharist*. which they that list to looke after, may finde in the collections of *Capgrave*, *Surius*, and such like.

But, you will say ; these testimonies that have beene alledged, make not so much for us, in proving the use of the *communion under both kinds*, as they make against us, in confirming the opinion of *Transubstantiation* : seeing they all specifie the receiving, not of *bread and wine*, but of the *body and bloud of Christ*. I answer, that forasmuch as *Christ* himselfe at the first institution of his holy-Supper did say expressly, *This is my body*, and, *This is my bloud* : hee deserveth not the name of a *Christian*, that will question the truth of that saying, or refuse to speake in that language, which hee hath heard his Lord and Master use before him. The question onely is, in what sense, and after what manner, these things must bee conceived to bee his *body and bloud*. Of which there needed to be little question : if men would bee pleased to take into their consideration these two things ; which were never doubted of by the ancient, and have most evident ground in the context of the Gospel. First, that the *subject* of those sacramentall propositions delivered by our Saviour (that is to say, the demonstrative particle *THIS*) can have reference to no other substance, but that which hee then held in his sacred hands, namely *bread & wine* : which are of so different a nature from the *body and bloud of Christ*, that the one cannot possibly in proper sense be said to be the other ; as the light of common reason doth force the Romanists themselves to con-

fesse. Secondly, that in the *Predicate*, or latter part of the same propositions, there is not mention made only of *Christs body and blood*; but of his *body broken*, and his *blood shed*: to shew, that his *body* is to be considered here apart, not as it was borne of the *Virgin*, or now is in *heaven*, but as it was broken and crucified for us; and his *blood* likewise apart, not as running in his *veines*, but as shed out of his *body*; which the *Rhemists* have told us to be conditions of his person, as hee was in sacrifice and oblation.

And lest wee should imagine, that his *body* were otherwise to be considered in the *sacrament* than in the *sacrifice*; in the one *alive*, as it is now in *heaven*, in the other *dead*, as it was offered upon the *Crosse*: the *Apostle* putteth the matter out of doubt, that not onely the minister in offering, but also the people in receiving, even ^Pas often as they eat this bread, and drinke this cup, doe shew the *Lords death* untill hee come. Our elders surely, that held the *sacrifice* to be given and received (for so we have heard themselves speak) as well as offered; did not consider otherwise of *Christ* in the *sacrament*, than as hee was in *sacrifice and oblation*. If here therefore, *Christs body* be presented as broken and livelesse, and his *blood* as shed forth and severed from his *body*; and it be most certaine, that there are no such things now really existent any where (as is confessed on all hands:) then must it follow necessarily, that the bread and wine are not converted into these things really. The ^q*Rhemists* indeede tell us, that when the Church doth offer and sacrifice *Christ* daily; hee in *mysterie and sacrament* dyeth. Further than this they durst not goe: for if they

P. 1 Cor. 11. 26.

q Rhem. in
Mat. 26. 26.

they had said, hee dyed really, they should thereby not only make themselves daily killers of *Christ*, but also directly crosse that principle of the Apostle, Rom. 6. 9. *Christ being raised from the dead dyeth no more.* If then the body of *Christ* in the administration of the *Eucharist* be propounded as dead (as hath been shewed) and dye it cannot really, but onely in *mysterie* and *sacrament*: how can it be thought to bee contained under the outward elements, otherwise than in *sacrament* and *mysterie*? and such as in times past were said to have received the *sacrifice* from the hand of the Priest, what other *body* and *bloud* could they expect to receive therein, but such as was suitable to the nature of that sacrifice, to wit, *mysticall* and *sacramentall*?

Cælius Sedulius (to whom *Gelasius* Bishop of Rome, with his Synod of L. x x. Bishops, giveth the title of *venerable Sedulius*; as *Venantius Fortunatus* of *conspicuous Sedulius*; and *Hildephonsus Toletanus* of the *good Sedulius*, the Evangelicall Poet, the eloquent Orator, and the Catholicke Writer) is by *Trithemius* and others supposed to be the same with our *Sedulius* of Scotland (or Ireland) whose Collections are extant upon St. Pauls Epistles: although I have forborne hitherto to use any of his testimonies, because I have some reason to doubt, whether hee were the same with our *Sedulius* or no. But *Cælius Sedulius* (whatsoever countryman hee was) intimateth plainly, that the things offered in the Christian sacrifice,

vangelicus, Orator facundus, scriptor catholicus. *Hildephonsus Toletanus* in *serm. 9. de assumpt. M. Mariae*. u. *Sedulii Scoti Hibernicensis*, in omnes epistolas Pauli Collectan: ex *usq. Basil.* 42. 1538.

are

r Venerabilis
viri Sedulii
Paschale opus,
quod heroicis
descripsit versibus,
insigni laude
preclarissimum.
Synod. Roman.
sub Gelasio.
f Hinc quoque
conspicui radi-
avit lingua Se-
duli. *Venantius*
Fortunatus, de vi-
ta S. Martini,
lib. 1.
r Bonus Sedu-
lius, poeta E-

are the fruit of the corne and of the vine :

x Sedul. Carm.
Paschal. lib. 4.

(^a Denique Pontificum princeps summusque Sacerdos
Quis nisi Christus adest? gemini libaminis auctor,
Ordine Melchisedech, cui dantur munera semper
Quæ sua sunt, segetis fructus, & gaudia vitis.)

y Triticæ se-
mentis cibus
suavis, & amor-
næ vitis potus
amabilis. Id.
prof. lib. 4. ca. 14.
z Melchise-
dech vinum &
panem obtulit
Abraham, in fi-
guram Christi,
corpus & san-
guinem suum
Deo patri in
cruce offeren-
tis. Sedul. in
Heb. 5.

a Nos verò in
conmemora-
tionem Domi-
nicæ semel pas-
sionis quotidie
nostrique sa-
lutis offerimus.
Idem Heb. 10.

b Suam me-
moriâ nobis
reliquit; quem
admodum si
quis peregrin-
proficiens al-
iquid pignus
ei quem diligit
derelinquat;

ut quovis tempore illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia & amicitias recordari. Idem 1 Cor. 15.

c Voluit autem discipulis suis tradere sacramentum corporis & sanguinis sui, quod signifi-
ficavit in fractione corporis & effusione calicis, & postea ipsum corpus immolari in ara
Crucis. Claud. lib. 3. in Matth.

Or, as hee expresseth it in his prole; [†] the sweete meate
of the seede of wheate, and the lovely drinke of the plea-
sant vine. Ot Melch sedek (according to whole or-
der Christ, and he onely, was Priest) our owne Sedu-
lius writeth thus: ^a Melch. sedek offered wine & bread
to Abraham for a figure of Christ; offering his body and
bloud unto God his Father upon the Crosse. Where note,
that first hee saith, Melch sedek offered bread and
wine to Abraham, not to God: and secondly, that hee
was a figure of Christ offering his body and bloud
upon the crosse, not in the Eucharist. But we (saith ^a he)
doe offer daily, for a commemoration of the Lords passion
(once performed) and our owne salvation. and else-
where, expounding those words of our Saviour, Doe
this in remembrance of me; hee bringeth in this simili-
tude, used before and after him by others. ^b He left a
memory of himselfe unto us: even as if one that were
going a farre journey, should leave some token with
him whom hee loved; that as oft as hee beheld it; hee
might call to remembrance his benefits and friendship.

Claudius noteth, that our Saviours ^c pleasure was,
first to deliver unto his Disciples the sacrament of his bo-
die and bloud, and afterwards to offer up the body is selfe
upon the altar of the crosse. Where at the first sight I

did verily thinke, that in the words *fractione corporis* an error had beene committed in my transcript (*corporis* being miswritten for *panis*) but afterwards comparing it with the originall, whence I tooke my copie, I found that the author retained the manner of speaking used both ^d before and ^e after his time; in giving the name of the thing signified unto the signe, even there where the direct intention of the speech was to distinguish the one from the other. For hee doth expressly here distinguish *the sacrament of the body*, which was delivered unto the Disciples, from *the body it selfe*, which was afterwards offered upon the Crosse: and for the sacramentall relation betwixt them both, hee rendereth this reason. *Because bread doth confirme the body, and wine doth worke blood in the flesh: therefore the one is mystically referred to the body of Christ, the other to his blood.* Which doctrine of his (that the sacrament is in it owne nature *bread and wine*, but the *body and blood of Christ* by mysticall relation) was in effect the same with that which long afterwards was here in Ireland delivered by Henry Crumpe the Monke of *Baltinglas*, & that *the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar was onely a looking glasse to the body of Christ in heaven: yea and within fifty or threescore yeeres of the time of Claudius Scotus himselfe*, was so fully maintained by *Iohannes Scotus* in a booke that hee purposely wrote of that argument; that when it was alledged and extolled by *Berengarius*, Pope *Leo* (the ninth) with his Bishops assembled in *Synodo Vercellensi*, an^o. Domini, 1050 (which was 235. yeeres after the time that *Claudius* wrote his commentaries upon *St. Matthew*)

d See Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Ephraemius Antiochenus, in the Answer to the Jesuit, pag. 66, 67. of the last edition.

e Apud Rattranum (five Bertramum) & Aelfricum, palium.

f Quia panis corpus confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne: hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud refertur ad sanguinem. Id. ibid.

g Quod corpus Christi in altaris sacramento est solum speculum ad corpus Christi in celo. Ex altis ille mi Andrea Midenfis episcopi contra Henr. Crumpe anno 1384. que at S. b. 100.

had

7

*h. Iohannis
Scoti liber de
Eucharistia
lectus est, ac
damnatus. Cas-
franc. de Eucha-
rist. contr. Eren-
gar.*

*i. Iohanne
mijnū mār-
re ppeorū.
Alfred. prefat.
in Gregor. Pa-
pali Saxonia.*

had no other meanes to avoide it, but by flat^h con-
demning of it. Of what great esteeme this *Iohn* was
with king *Alfred*, may be seene in *William of Malmes-
bury*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Matthew of Westminster*, and o-
ther writers of the English history. The king him-
selfe, in the Preface before his Saxon translation of
St. Gregories Pastorall, professeth that he was holpen
in that worke by ^h*Iohn* his Masse-priest. By whom if
he did meane this *Iohn* of ours: you may see, how in
those dayes a man might be held a Masse-priest, who
was far enough from thinking that he offered up the
very body and bloud of *Christ* really present under the
formes of bread and wine; which is the onely Masse
that our Romanists take knowledge of.

Of which wonderfull point how ignorant our el-
ders were, even this also may be one argument: that
the author of the booke of the wonderfull things of the
holy Scripture (before alledged) passeth this quite o-
ver, which is now esteemed to be the wonder of all
wonders. And yet doth he professe, that he^r purpo-
sed to passe over nothing of the wonders of the Scripture,
wherein they might seeme notably to swerve from the or-
dinary administration in other things.

*h. Praefationem
eum ex mira-
bilibus Scrip-
turae Domini-
cae nil prae-
tere disposui, in
quibus a ministerio quotidiano excellere in aliis videntur. Lib. 2. de mirabilib. Scriptur.
cap. 21.*

CHAP. V.

Of Chrisme, Sacramentall Confession, Penance, Absolution, Marriage, Divorces, and single life in the Clergie.

THat the Irish^a did baptize their infants without any consecrated *Chrisme*, *Lanfranc* maketh complaint in his letters to *Terdeluacus* (or *Tirlagh*) the chiefe King of that country. And *Bernard* reporteth, that *Malachias* in his time (which was after the daies of *Lanfranc* and Pope *Hildebrand*) did^b of the new institute the most wholesome use of *Confession*, the sacrament of *Confirmation*, and the contract of marriages: all which he saith the Irish before were either ignorant of, or did neglect. Which, for the matter of *Confession*, may receive some further confirmation from the testimonie of *Alcuinus*: who writing unto the *Scotish* (or, as other copies read, the *Gothish*) and commending the religious conversation of their laity, who^c in the midst of their worldly employments were said to leade a most chaste life; condemneth notwithstanding another custome, which was said to have continued in that country. For^d it is said (quoth he) that no man of the laity will make his confession to the Priests; whom we beleeeve to have received from the Lord *Christ*, the power of binding and loosing, together with the holy Apostles.

^a Quod infantes baptismo sine Chrismate consecrato baptizantur. *Lanfranc. epist. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana: Et apud Baron. an. 1089. num 16. ubi tamen five male habetur pro sine.*
^b Vltim saluberrimum Confessionis, sacramentum Confirmationis, contractum conjugiorum (quæ omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant) *Malachias de novo instituit. Bernard in vita Malachie.*
^c Inter mundanas occupationes castissimam vitam rationabili consi-

deratione degere dicuntur. *Alcuin. epist. 26. edit. H. Canisii, 77. Andrea Quercetani.* ^d Dicuntur verò acminem ex Laicis suam velle Confessionem sacerdotibus dare: quos à Deo Christo cum sanctis Apostolis ligandi solvendi; potestatem accepisse credimus, *ibid.*

They

They had no reason indeed to hold (as *Alcuinus* did) that they ought to confesse unto a Priest all the sinnes they could remember : but upon speciall occasions, they did (no doubt) both publickly and privately make confession of their faults, aswell that they might receive counsaile and direction for their recovery, as that they might bee made partakers of the benefit of the keyes, for the quieting of their troubled consciences. Whatsoever the *Gothish* did herein (by whom wee are to understand the inhabitants of *Languedok* in France, where *Alcuinus* lived) sure wee are, that this was the practice of the ancient *Scottish* and *Irish*. So wee reade of one *Fiachna* or *Fechmann*, that being touched with remorse for some offence committed by him, he fell at *St. Colmes* feet, lamented bitterly, and *confessed his sinnes before all that were there present*. Whereupon the holy man, weeping together with him, is said to have returned this answer : *Rise up, Sonne, and bee comforted, thy sinnes which thou hast committed are forgiven; because (as it is written) a contrite and an humbled heart God doth not despise*. We reade also of *Adamannus*, that being very much terrified with the remembrance of a grievous sinne committed by him in his youth; he *resorted unto a Priest, by whom hee hoped the way of salvation might bee shewed unto him, hee confessed his guilt, and intreated that hee would give him counsell, whereby hee might flee from the wrath of God that was to come*.

e Coram omnibus qui ibidem erant peccata sua confessus est. *Adamann. vit. Columb. lib. 1. cap. 16. (vel 10. in MS.)*
f Surge fili, & confole: dimissa sunt tua, quia commisit, peccamina. quis sicut scriptum est; Cor contritum & humilatum Deus non spernit. *ibid.*
g Accedens ad sacerdotem, & quo sibi sperabat iter salutis posse demonstrari; confessus est reatum suum, petique ut consilium sibi daret, quo posset fugere a ventura Dei ira. *ibid. lib. 4. bisser. cap. 15.*

Now

Now the counsell commonly given unto the Penitent after Confession, was ; that hee should ^h wipe away his finnes by meet fruits of repentance : which course Bede observeth to have beene usually prescribed by our Cuthbert. For penances were then exacted, as testimonies of the sincerity of that inward repentance which was necessarily required for obtaining remission of the sinne : and so had reference to the taking away of the guilt, and not of the temporall punishment remaining after the forgiveness of the guilt, which is the new found use of penances, invented by our later Romanists. One old Penitentiall Canon wee finde laid downe in a Synod held in this country about the yeere our Lord cccc. by S. ^h *Adrick, Auxilius, and Iffernius*: which is as followeth.

ⁱ A Christian who hath kild a man, or committed fornication, or gone unto a Southsayer after the manner of the Gentiles, for every of those crimes shall doe a yeere of Penance : when his yeere of penance is accomplished, he shall come with witnesses, and afterward hee shall bee absolved by the Priest. These Bishops did take order (we see) according to the discipline generally used in those times, that the penance should first be performed ; and when long & good prooffe had bin given by that means of the truth of the parties repentance, they wished the Priest to impart unto him the benefit of Absolution. whereas by the new device of sacramentall penance the matter is now far more easily transacted : by vertue of the keyes the sinner is instantly of attrition made contrition, and thereupon as soon as hee hath made his Confession hee presently receiveth his Absolution : after this, some sorry penance is imposed, which

^h Confessio dignis (ut imperabat) penitentia fructibus abstergerent. *Id. ibid. cap. 17.*

ⁱ Christianus qui occiderit, aut fornicationem fecerit, aut more Gentilium ad aruspices incaverit ; per singula crimina annum poenitentiae agat, impleto cum testibus veniat anno Poenitentiae, & postea resolvetur à sacerdote. *Synod. Patricij, Auxilij & Iffernij MS. in Bibliotheca Collegij Cantabrig.*

which upon better consideration may bee converted into pen^{ce}; and so a quicke end is made of many a foule businesse.

But for the right use of the keyes, we fully accord with *Claudius*: that ^{the} office of remitting and retaining sinnes which was given unto the Apostles, is now in the Bishops and Priests committed unto every Church. namely, that having taken knowledge of the causes of such as have sinned, as many as they shall behold humble and truly penitent, those they may now with compassion absolve from the feare of everlasting death; but such as they shall discern to persist in the sins which they have committed, those they may declare to be bound over unto never ending punishments. And in thus absolving such as be truly penitent, we willingly yeeld, that the Pastors of Gods Church doe remitt sinnes after their manner, that is to say, ministerially and improperly: so that the priviledge of forgiving sinnes properly and absolutely, bee still reserved unto God alone. Which is at large set out by the same *Claudius*; where hee expoundeth the historie of the man sicke of the palsey, that was cured by our Saviour in the ninth of S. Matthew. For, following Bede upon that place, he writeth thus. ¹ The Scribes say true, that none can forgive sinnes but God alone; who also forgiveth by them, to whom hee hath given the power of forgiving. And therefore is Christ proved to bee truly God because he forgiveth sinnes as God. They render a true testimony unto God: but in denying the person of

Neenon etiam nunc in Episcopis ac Presbyteris omni Ecclesie officium idem committitur: ut videlicet agnitis peccantium causis, quoscunque humiles ac verè penitentes aspexerint, hos iam à timore perpetuæ mortis miseros abfolvant, quos verò in peccatis quæ egerint perflistere cognoverint, illis perennibus suppliciis obligandos iungant. *Claud in Matth. lib. 2.*
 1 Verum dicunt Scribæ, quia nemo dimittere peccata nisi solus Deus potest; qui per eos quoque dimittit, quibus dimittendi tribuit potestatem. Et idcirco Christus verè Deus esse probatur; quia dimittere peccata quasi Deus potest. Verum Deo testimonium reddunt; sed personam Christi negando saluntur. *Id. in Matth. lib. 2.*

Et idcirco Christus verè Deus esse probatur; quia dimittere peccata quasi Deus potest. Verum Deo testimonium reddunt; sed personam Christi negando saluntur. *Id. in Matth. lib. 2.*

Christ,

Christ, they are deceived. and againe: " If it bee God that, according to the Psalmist, removeth our sins as far from us, as the East is distant from the West; and the Sonne of man hath power upon earth to forgive sinnes: therefore hee himselfe is both God and the Sonne of man. that both the man Christ might by the power of his divinitie forgive sinnes; and the same Christ being God, might by the frailtie of his humanitie dye for sinners. and out of S. Hierome: " Christ sheweth himselfe to bee God, who can know the hidden things of the heart; and after a sort holding his peace he speaketh. By the same majestie and power, whereby I behold your thoughts, I can also forgive sinnes unto men. In like manner doth the author of the booke of the wonderfull things of the Scripture observethese " divine workes in the same historie: the forgiving of sinnes, the present cure of the disease, & the answering of the thoughts by the mouth of God who searcheth all things. With whom, for the propertie of beholding the secret thoughts, *Sedulius* also doth concurre, in those sentences. " God alone can know the hidden things of men. " To know the hearts of men, and to discern the secrets of their minde, is the priviledge of God alone.

That the contract of Marriages, was either unknown or neglected by the Irish, before *Malachias* did institute the same anew among them (as *Bernard* doth seeme to intimate) is a thing almost incredible. al-

possum & hominibus delicta dimittere. *ibid.* " In paralytico à quatuor viris portato, quatuor divina opera cernuntur. Dum dimituntur ei peccata, & presentis aggritudinis plaga verbo tunc solvitur, & cogitationibus in ore Dei omnia solutantis respondetur. *Amb. lib. de Mirabilib. S. Scriptur. lib. 3. cap. 7.* p Deus solus potest occulta hominum scire. *Sedul. in Rom. 1.* q Cordis hominum nosse solus Dei est, & mentis secreta agnoscere. *Id. ibid.*

m Si & Deus est, juxta Psalmistam, qui quantum distat Oriens ab occasu elongavit à nobis iniquitates nostras; & filius hominis potestatem habet in terra dimittendi peccata: ergo idem ipse & Deus & filius hominis est. ut & homo Christus per divinitatis suæ potentiam peccata dimittere possit; & idem Deus Christus per humanitatis suæ fragilitatem pro peccatoribus mori.

ibid. n Ostendit se Deum, qui potest cordis occulta cognoscere; & quodam modo tacens loquitur. Eadem maiestate & potentia quæ cogitationes vestras intueor,

E

though

r Nondum decimas vel primitias solvunt: nondum matrimonia contrahunt; non incestus vitant.

Girald. Camb.

Topograph. Hibern. dist. 1. 3. cap. 19.

Vide etiam Lanfranci epist. ad Gothricum & Terdeluacum reges Hibern. apud Baronium, an. 1089. num. 13. & 16.

¶ Videtur indicare, esse aliquid quod donum quidem sit, non tamen spirituale: ut Nuptiæ. Sedul. in Rom. 1.

¶ De consanguinitate in conjugio. Intelligite quid Lex loquitur, non minus nec plura. Quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera evitantur; nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse. Synod. Pat. 118. cap. 19. MS.

v. Audi decreta Synodi super istis. Fester thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat: Domino discente, Erunt duo in carne una. Ergo uxor fratris tui soror tua est. Ibid. cap. 19. & in 83. capitulum de Inre Sacerdotali Egberti archiepiscopi per Hincarium Levitam. MS.

though *Giraldus Cambrensis* doth complaine, that the case was little better with them after the time of *Malachias* also. The licentiousnesse of those ruder times, I know, was such, as may easily induce us to beleieve, that a great both neglect and abuse of Gods ordinance did get footing among this people. Which enormities *Malachias*, no doubt, did labour to reforme: and withall peradventure brought in some new matters, not knowne here before; as hee was very desirous his country men should generally conforme themselves unto the traditions and customes of the Church of *Rome*. But our purpose is here only to deale with the doctrine and practice of the elder times: in which, *first*, that Marriage was not held to bee a sacrament, may bee collected from *Sedulius*, who reckoneth it among those things, which are gifts indeed, but not spirituall.

Secondly, for the degrees of Consanguinitie hindering marriage, the Synod attributed unto *St. Patrick* seemeth to referre us wholly unto the Levitical law; prescribing therein *neither lesse nor more than the Law speaketh*: and particularly, against matching with the wife of the deceased brother (which was the point so much questioned in the case of King *Henrie the eighth*) this *Synodicall* decree is there urged. *The brother may not ascend into the bed of his deceased brother: the Lord having said, They two shall bee one flesh. Therefore the wife of thy brother, is thy sister.* Whereupon we finde also, that our *Kilianus* did suf-

fer martyrdom for * dissolving such an incestuous marriage in *Gozbertus* Duke of Franconia: and that *Clemens* Scotus for maintaining the contrary was both by * *Boniface* Archbishop of Mentz, and the z Councell held at Rome by Pope *Zacharie* in the yeare DCCCXLV. condemned as a bringer in of *Judaisme* amongst Christians. Yet how farre this condemned opinion of his prevailed afterward in this countrey, and how foule a crime it was esteemed to be by others abroad (notwithstanding the Pope doth now by his Bulls of dispensation take upon him to make afaire matter of it) may easily be perceived by this censure of *Giraldus*: * Moreover, saith hee, which is very detestable, and most contrary not only to the faith, but also unto common honesty; brethren in many places throughout Ireland do, I say not marry, but marre rather and seduce the wives of their deceased brothers; while in this sort they filthily and incestuously have knowledge of them: cleaving herein not to the marrow but to the barke of the Old Testament, and desiring to imitate the ancient in vices more willingly than in vertues.

Thirdly, touching divorces, wee read in *Sedulius*; that b it is not lawfull, according to the precept of our Lord, that the wife should be put away, but for the cause of fornication. and in the Synod ascribed to St. Pa-

cis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed tradunt, imò verius seducunt; dum corpiter eas, & tam incestuose cognoscunt: veteris in hoc testamento non medullæ sed cortici adherentes, veterisque libentius in vitis quam virtutibus imitari volentes. *Girald. Cambr. Topograph. Hibern. dist. 3. cap. 19.* b Non licet secundum præceptum Domini ut dimittatur conjunx, nisi causa fornicationis. *Sedul. in 1 Cor. 7.*

x. *Vit. Xibani. tom. 4. antiq. lect. Hec. Cant. lib. pag. 633. & 644.*

y *Judaismus inducens, judicat justum esse Christiano, ut si voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. Bonifac. epist. ad Zachar. tom. 3. Concil. part. 1. pag. 381. edit. Colon. An. 1618.*

z. *Inferens Christianis Iudaismum, dum prædicat fratris defuncti accipere uxorem. Concil. Roman. II. sub Zachar. ibid. pag. 383. & a Quinimo (quod valde detestabile est,*

& non tantum fidel, sed & cul- libet honestati valde contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam lo-

e Non licet vi-
ro dimittere
uxorem nisi ob
causam forni-
cationis, ac si
dicat, ob hanc
causam. Vnde
si ducat alte-
rum, velut post
mortem prioris,
non vitant.

Synod. Patric.
cap. 6. MS.

d. Si aliquis
uxor fornicata
fuerit cum alio
viro: non ad-
ducet aliam
uxorem, quan-
diu viva fuerit
uxor prima. Si
forte conversa
fuerit, & agat
penitentiam,
lucipiet eam;
& serviet ei in
vicem ancillæ:
& annuum inec-
gram in pane
& aqua per
mensuram pon-
ticeat; nec in
uno lecto per-
maneant. Ex li-
bro Canonum
ecclesiarum, titu-
lorum 66.

e. Quicumque
Clericis, ab
Ostiaris usque

ad Sacerdotem, sine tunica vilis fuerit, &c. & uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit: po-
nietur a laicis contemnentur, & ab Ecclesiâ separentur. Synod. Patric. Auxil. Iffermin. f. Patrem
habui Calpornium Diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri. S. Patrici Confessio. MS.

trick. * It is not lawfull for a man to put away his wife,
but for the cause of fornication. as if he should say; for
this cause, he may. Whence if hee marry another, as it
were after the death of the former, they forbid it not.
Who they were, that did not forbid this second
marriage, is not there expressed: that Saint Patrick
himselfe was of another minde, would appeare by
this constitution following; which in another anti-
ent Canon-booke I found cited under his name. ^d If
any mans wife have committed adulterie with another
man: he shall not marry another wife, as long as the first
wife shall be alive. If peradventure she be converted, and
doe penance: he shall receive her; and she shall serve him
in the place of a maid-servant. Let her for a whole yeare
doe penance in bread and water, and that by measure:
neither let them remaine in the same bed together.
Fourthly, concerning single life, I doe not finde in
any of our records, that it was generally imposed
upon the Clergie; but the contrary rather. For in the
Synod held by St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Ifferminus;
there is a speciall order taken, * that their wives shall
not walke abroad, with their heads uncovered. And
St. Patrick himselfe confesseth (at leastwise the Con-
fession which goeth under his name saith so; and Pro-
bus, Jocelinus, and others that write his life, agree
therewith) that hee ^f had to his father Calphurnius a
Deacon, and to his grandfather Potitus a Priest. For
that was no new thing then among the Britons:

whose

whose Bishops therefore *Gildas* doth reprehend (as for the same cause he did the chiefe of the Laity) that they were not content to be the husbands of *one*, but of many wives, and that they corrupted their children by their evill example: whereas *the chastitie of the fathers was to be esteemed imperfect, if the chastitie of their sonnes were not added therunto.*

Nennius, the eldest Historiographer of the Britons which wee have after him (who in many copies also beareth his owne name) wrote that booke which we have extant of his, to *Samuel the childe of Benlannus the Priest, his master*: counting it a grace, rather than any kinde of disparagement unto him, to bee esteemed the sonne of a learned Priest. Which maketh him in the verses prefixed before the worke to say:

*Christe, tribuisti patri Samuelem, * lata matre.*

But about 60. or 70. yeares after, I finde some partiall eclipse here (and the first, I thinke, of this kinde, that can bee shewed among the Britons) in the lawes of *Howel Dha*: where it is ordered, that *if a Clerk of a lower degree should match with a woman, and have a sonne by her, and that Clerke afterward having received the order of Priest-hood, should have another sonne by the same woman; the former son should enjoy his fathers whole estate, without being bound to divide the same with his other brother.* Yet these marriages for all that were so held out, that the fathers not content their sonnes should succeed them in their temporall estate alone, prevailed so

brevis Lata est nominata. h. Si clericus haberet feminam datam à suo genere, & sic haberet filium ex ea; & postea ille clericus presbyteratus ordinem accipiens, si post votum consecrationis filium haberet de eadem femina; prior filius non debet partiri cum filio postea. Ex legib. Howel Dha, MS. in Bibliotheca Cantuariensi.

g Imperfecta est patrum castitas, si eadem non & liberorum accumuletur.

Sed quid erit, ubi nec pater, nec filius magis

genitoris exemplo pravus, conspicitur castus? *Gildas*, h. Sic inveni,

ut tibi Samuel (infans magistri mei Benlanni presbyteri)

in ista pagina scriptus. *Nennius* in MS. Dunelmensi.

i Versus Nennii ad Samuelem filium magistri sui Benlanni, viri religiosi,

ad quem historiam istam scripserat.

Nenn. MS. in publica Cantuariensis academia Bibliotheca.

* Hinc apud Baleum, Centur. 1. cap. 77. Benlanni presbyteri

farre

I Successivè & post patres filii ecclesias obtinent, non electivè sed hæreditate possidentes & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei, quia si prælatus alium eligere & instituere fortè præsumpserit, in instituentem proculdubio, vel institutum, genus injuriam vindicabit.

far that they continued them in the succession of their spirituall promotions also. Which abuse *Giraldus Cambrensis* ¹ complaineth to have been continued in Wales unto his time, & out of ² *Hildebertus Cenomanensis* sheweth to have prevailed in little Brittain also: whence he inferreth, ³ that *this vice was of old common to the whole Brittish nation as well on this side as on the other side of the sea.* Whereunto for Ireland also wee may adde the letters written by Pope *Innocent the third* unto *Iohannes Salernitanus* the Cardinall, his legare, ⁴ for abolishing the custome there, whereby sonnes and grand-children did use to succcede their fathers and grand-fathers in their Ecclesiastical benefices.

Girald. Cambrensis Descript. Cambria, libro 2^o. MS. Successionis quippe vitium non solum in sedibus cathedralibus, verum etiam aded per totam in clero sicut & in populo Walliam per tinaciter invaluit; quod & post patres filii passim ecclesias & consequenter obtineant, tanquam hæreditate possidentes & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei, &c. *Id. in Dialogo de Ecclesia Menvensi, distinct. 1. MS.* *m* *Hildebert. epist. 65. ad Honorium II. (tomo 12. Biblioth. Patr. part. 1. pag. 338. 339. edit. Colon.)* *n* Ex quibus constare potest, utrumque vitium toti huic genti Britanniz tam civilis quam transmarinæ ab antiquo commune fuisse. *Girald. Camb. in utroque.* *o* *Alphons. Ciacon. in Vitis Pontificum & Cardinalium, pag. 515.*

CHAP. VI.

*Of the discipline of our ancient Monks;
and abstinence from meats.*

WHat hath been said of the married Clergie, concerneth the *Seculars*, and not the *Regulars*, whereof there was a very great number in Ireland; because here ⁵ almost all the Prelates were wont to bee

*in Fæderibus
Hiberniæ præ-
lati demones-
tiæ in clerum electi sunt. Girald. Cambren. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap. 39.*

abosen.

chosen into the Clergie out of monasteries. For our monasteries in ancient time were the seminaries of the ministerie: being as it were so many Colledges of learned divines, whereunto the people did usually resort for instruction, and from whence the Church was wont continually to bee supplied with able ministers. The benefit whereof was not onely contained within the limits of this Iland, but did extend it selfe to forraigne countries likewise. For this was it that drew ^b Egbert and Ceadda (for example) into Ireland; that they might there leade a monasticall life in prayers and continencie and meditation of the holy Scriptures: and hence were those famous monasteries planted in England by Aidan, Finan, Colman, and others, unto which ^c the people flockt apace on the Lords day, not for the feeding of their body, but for the learning of the word of God, as Beda witnesseth. Yea this was the principall meanes, whereby the knowledge both of the Scriptures and of all other good learning was preserved in that inundation of barbarisme, wherewith the whole West was in a manner overwhelmed. *Hitherto* (saith ^d Curio) *it might seeme that the studies of wisdom should quite have perished, unlessse God had reserved a seed in some corner of the world. Among the Scottish and the Irish something as yet remained of the doctrine of the knowledge of God and of civill honesty; because there was no terror of armes in those utmost ends of the world. And we may there behold and adore the great goodnesse of God; that among the* Scotts & Hibernis hæserat aliquid adhuc de doctrinâ cognitionis Dei & honestatis civilis; quodd nullus fuerit in ultimis illis mundi finibus armorum terror, &c. Ex summam possimus ibi conspiceret & adorare Dei bonitatem, quodd in Scottis, & locis, ubi nemo putasset, cum numerosi coaluerint sub strictissima disciplina cœtus. *Jacob Curio, lib. 2. rerum Chronologic.*

b Egbertus cum Ceadda adolescente & ipse adolescens in Hiberniâ monasticam in orationibus & continentia & meditatione divinarum scripturarum vitam sedulus agebat. Bed. lib. 4. cap. 3.

c Sed & dicbus Dominicis ad ecclesiam sive ad monasteria certatim, non reficiendi corporis, sed erudiendi sermonis Dei gratia confluebant. Id. lib. 3. cap. 26.

d Hactenus videtur poterat adesse cum sapientie studiis; nisi semina Deus servasset in aliquo mundi angulo. In

Scots, and in those places where no man would have thought it, so many great companies should bee gathered together under a most strict discipline.

How strict their discipline was, may appeare partly by the Rule, and partly by the Daily penances of Monkes; which are yet extant of Columbanus his writing. In the later of these, for the disobedience of Monkes these penances are prescribed. *"If any brother bee disobedient; hee shall fast two dayes; with one bisket and water. If any say, I will not do it; three dayes, with one bisket and water. If any murmure, two dayes, with one bisket and water. If any doe not aske leave; or tell an excuse; two dayes, with one bisket and water. and so in other particulars. In his Rule, these good lessons doth hee give unto his Monkes, among many others. That ^{it} it profited them little, if they were virgins in body, and were not virgins in minde. that they should daily profit, as they did daily pray, and daily reade. that ^{the} the good things of the Pharisee being vainly praised were lost, and the finnes of the Publican being accused vanished away; and therefore that a great word should not come out of the mouth of a Monke, lest his great labour should perish. They were not taught to vaunt of their state of perfection, and workes of supererogation: or to argue from thence (as Celestius the Pelagian Monke sometime did) that ^{by} the nature of their free will they had such a possibility of not sinning, that*

e Si quis frater inobediens fuerit; duos dies uno paxmate & aqua. Si quis dicit, Non faciam; tres dies uno paxmatio. & aqua. Si quis murmurat; duos dies uno paxmatio & aqua. Si quia vani quoniam non petunt, aug. dicit excutionem; duos dies uno paxmatio & aqua. Columbanus ibide quidam punitentis nuntiar. ca. 10. At S. in monasterio S. Galli. & Quid prodit, si virgo corpore sit, & non sit virgo mente? Id. in Regula monachorum. cap. 8. 8. Quotidie prohibendum.

est: sicut quotidie orandum, quotidie est legendum. Ibid. cap. 5. h. Bonae vanae laudatae Pharisei perierunt: & peccata Publicani accusata evanuerunt. Non erat igitur verbum grande de ore Monachi; ne suus grandis pereat labor. Ibid. cap. 7. I. Tantam nos habere per naturam liberi arbitrii non peccandi possibilitatem ut plus etiam quam preceptum est, faciamus: quoniam perpetua servatur à plerisque virginitas, quae precepta non est; cum ad non peccandum precepta implere sufficiat. Aug. de gēn. 5. ynd. Pelagius contra Pelag. cap. 3.

they

they were able also to doe more than was commanded; because they did observe perpetuall virginity which is not commanded, whereas for not sinning it is sufficient to fulfill the precepts. It was one of the points which *Gal-lus* (the scholler of *Columbanus*) delivered in his sermon preached at *Constance*; that our Saviour ² did so perswade the Apostles & their followers to lay hold upon the good of virginity; that yet they should know, it was not of humane industry, but of a divine gift. and it is a good observation which wee reade in *Claudius*: that not only in the splendour of bodily things, but also in mournfull abasing of ones selfe, there may bee boasting; and that so much the more dangerous, as it deceiveth under the name of the service of God.

Our Monkes were religious in deede, and not in name only; farre from the hypocrisie, pride, idleness and uncleanness of those evil beasts and slothfull bellies that afterward succeeded in their roome. Under colour of forsaking all, they did not hooke all unto themselves; nor under semblance of devotion did they devour widowes houses: they held begging to bee no point of perfection; but ² remembered the words of our Lord Iesus, how he said, *It is a more blessed thing to give rather than to take.* When king *Sigebert* made large offers unto *Columbanus* and his companions, to keep them within his dominions in *France*: hee received such another answer from them, as ² *Thaddaus* in the Ecclesiasticall history is said to have given unto *Abgarus* the governour of *Edessa*: *• Wee who have forsaken our owne, that accor-*

• Iussione Domini sequemur, non debemus alienas amplecti divitias, ne forte pervertat nos sumus divini mandati. *Walafrid. Strab. vii. Galli lib. 1. cap. 2.*

k Ipsi Apostoli
lis & eorum
seguacibus ita
bonum virginitatis
arripendum
persuasit: ut hoc scirent
non humane
industria, sed
muneris esse
divini. *S. Gallus,*
in serm. habet.
Constance.

l Non in solo
rerum corporum
recreare amore,
sed etiam in
ipsis sordibus
luctuosus esse
posse iactantiam:
et eo periculosiorem,
quo sub nomine
servitutis
Dei decipit.
Claud. lib. 1. in
Matth.

m *Alb. 20. 33.*
n *Ed. vii. 1. 1.*
neg. 12. 1. 1.
admon. 12. 1. 1.
12. 1. 1. 1.
12. 1. 1. 1.
12. 1. 1. 1.
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12. 1. 1. 1.
12. 1. 1. 1.
12. 1. 1. 1.

ding

ding to the commandement of the Gospel we might follow the Lord, ought not to embrace other mens riches, lest peradventure we should prove transgressors of the divine commandement. How then did these men live, will you say? *Walafrius Strabus* telleth us, that ^v some of them wrought in the garden, others dressed the orchard; *Gallus* made nets and tooke fish, wherewith hee not only relieved his owne company, but was helpfull also unto strangers. So *Bede* reporteth of *Cuthbert*, that when hee retired himselfe unto an anchoreticall life, he ^q first indeed received a little bread from his brethren to feede upon, and dranke out of his owne well; but afterwards hee thought it more fit to live by the worke of his owne hands, after the example of the Fathers: and therefore intreated, that instruments might bee brought him wherewith he might till the earth, and cornes that hee might sowe.

*Quique suis cupiens victum conquirere palmis;
Incultam pertentat humum proscindere ferro,
Et sator edomitis anni spem credere glebis.*

The like doth hee relate of ^r *Fursus*; and *Bonifacius* of ^s *Livinus*; and *Theodorus Campidonensis* (or who-soever else wrote that booke) of ^t *Gallus*, *Magnusaldus*, and the rest of the followers of *Columbanus*; that they got their living by the labour of their owne hands. And the ^u *Apostles* rule is generally laid downe for all Monkes, in the life of *Fursus*: *They which live in Monasteries should worke with silence, and eat their owne bread.*

p Alii hortum laboraverunt, alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt. B. verò Gallus texebat retia, &c. & de eodem labore assiduus populo benedictiones exhibuit.

Ibid. cap. 6.

q Ex primum quidem permodicum ab eis panem, quo vinceretur acciperet, ac suo bibebat è fonte; postmodum verò proprie manuum labore juxta exempla patrum vivere magis aptum ducebat.

Rogavit ergo offerri sibi instrumenta quibus terram exerceret, & triticum quod ferret. Bed. vii. Cuthbert. prof. cap. 19. Vid. li. 4.

Ibid. eccles. cap. 12.

cap. 19.

cap. 5. edit. Goldasti. 6. Canisi.

cum silentio operantur, suum panem manducant. Vit. Fursti.

r Id. in Carm. de vit. Cuthbert. cap. 17.

s Bonifac. in vita Livini. pag. 140.

t Theod. Candid. vit. Magni. lib. 1.

u Thef. 3. 12.

y Qui in monasteriis degunt,

But

But now there is start up a new generation of men, that refuse to eat their own bread, and count it a high point of sanctity to live by begging of other mens bread, if yet the course they take may rightly be termed begging. For as *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, that famous Archbishop of *Armagh*, objected to their faces, before the Pope himselfe and his Cardinals in his time (and the matter is little amended, I wisse, in ours) scarce could any great or meane man of the Clergie or the Laitie ease his meate, but such kinde of beggers would be at his elbowe: not like other poore folkes humbly craving almes at the gate or the doore (as *Francis* did command and teach them in his Testament) by begging; but without shame intruding themselves into courts or houses, and lodging there. where, without any inviting at all, they ease and drinke what they doe finde among them: and not with that content, carry away with them eyther wheate, or meale, or bread, or flesh, or cheeses (although there were but two in an house) in a kinde of an extorting manner; there being none that can deny them, unlesse he would cast away naturall shame.

This did that renowned *Primate* (whose anniversary memory is still celebrated in *Dundalke*, where hee was borne and buried, by the name of *Saint Richard*) publicly deliver in the yeere 1357. at the Consistory of *Avinion*: where he stoutly maintained against the whole rabble of the Friars, what hee had preached the yeere before at *Pauls Crosse* unto the

aut grana, aut similia, aut panes, aut carnes, seu calcos (etiamsi in domo non fuerint nisi duo) secum extorquendo reportant: nec eis quisquam poterit denegare, nisi verecundiam naturalem abiciat. *Rich. Armaghensis in Defensorio Curatorum, pag. 56. 57. edit. Paris. an. 1634. (collat. cum veteri editione Astensiana.)*

people.

a Prima conclusio erat, quod Dominus Iesus Christus in conversatione sua humana semper pauper erat, non quia propter se paupertatem dilexit aut voluit. *Ibid. pag. 104, 105.*

b Secunda conclusio erat, quod Dominus noster Iesus Christus nunquam spontaneè mendicavit. *Ibid. pag. 107.*

c Tertia conclusio fuit, quod Christus nunquam docuit spontaneè mendicare. *Ibid. pag. 111.*

d Quarta conclusio fuit, quod Dominus noster Iesus Christus docuit non debere homines spontaneè mendicare. *Ibid. pag. 113.*

e Quinta conclusio erat, quod nullus potest prudenter & sanctè spontaneam mendicantem super se assumere perpetuò asserendam, quoniam ex quo talis mendicantia vel mendicatio est aliena à Christo, à suis Apostolis & Discipulis, & ad Ecclesiā ac sacris Scripturis, ac etiam reprobata: consequitur, quod non potest prudenter & sanctè assumi hoc modo. *Ibid. pag. 131. Vid. etiam Richardi sermonem 2. apud Crastum Londinadū. Paris. an. 1512.*

f Quod fratres de quatuor ordinibus Mendicantium non sunt fuerunt Domino inspirante instituti; sed contra Concilium generale Lateranense sub Innocentio tertio celebratum, ac per ficta & falsa somnia, Papa Honorius suavis à fratribus eos confirmavit. *Atq. contra Henr. Crumpe, in Thoma Waldensis Fasciculis & Memoribus, quoniam de sem. habet.*

g Quod omnes Doctores determinantes pro parte fratrum mendicantium, vel timuerunt veritatem dicere, ne eorum libri per fratres Inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis damnarentur; vel dixerunt, ut videtur, vel solum disputativè & non determinativè processerunt: quia si pland veritatem pro Ecclesiā dixissent, persecuti eos fuissent. *Atq. tres, sicut persequantur sanctum Doctorem Armandum. Ibid.*

people. namely, *that our Lord Iesus Christ, although in his humane conversation hee was alwayes poore, & yet did hee never voluntarily begge himselfe, nor taught others so to doe, but taught the plaine contrary: and that no man could prudently & holily take upon himself the perpetuall observation of voluntary beggary; forasmuch as such kinde of begging, as well by Christ, as by his Apostles and Disciples, by the Church and by the holy Scriptures, was both dissuaded and also reprov'd.*

His Countryman Henry Crumpe (a Monke of the Cistercian order in *Baltinglas*) not long after, treading in his steps, was accused for delivering in his Determinations at *Oxford*: that *the Friars of the foure Mendicant orders are not, nor ever were instituted by Gods inspiration, but that contrary to the generall Council of Lateran, held under Innocent the third (which prohibited the bringing in of any more new religious orders into the Church) and by feigned and false dreames, Pope Honorius being perswaded by the Friars, did confirme them, and that all the Doctors which did*

determine

determine for the Friars side, were cyther affraid to speak the truth, lest their books should be condemned by the Friars that had gotten to be Inquisitors; or said, As it seemeth, or proceeded onely by way of d'sputation and not of determination: because if they had spoken the truth plainly in the behatfe of the Church, the Friars would have persecuted them, as they d.d persecute the holy Doctor Armachanus. Which Crumpe himselfe found afterwards to be too true by his owne experience. for hee was forced to deny and abjure these assertions in the house of the Carmelite Friars at Stanford, before William Courtney Archbishop of Canterbury: and then silenced, that hee should not exercise publicly any act in the Schooles, either by reading, preaching, disputing, or determining; untill hee should have a speciall licence from the said Archbishop so to doe.

But to leave the *begging Friars* (being a kinde of creatures unknowne to the Church for twelve hundred yeers after Christ) and to return to the *labouring Monkes*: wee finde it related of our *Brendan*: that he ^a governed three thousand such Monkes, who by their owne labours and handy-worke did earne their living. which agreeth well with that saying ascribed to him by the writer of his life: ¹ *A Monke ought to bee fed and clothed by the labour of his owne hands.* Neither was there any other order observed in that famous Monasterie of *Bangor* among the Britons, ² wherein

h Tribus monachorum (qui suis, sibi ipsi laboribus vivunt, manibus operando sustentabant) millibus praevisse creditur. *Nicol. Harpsfield. hist. Eccles.*

Angl. lib. 1. cap. 25. ¹ Monachum oportet labore manuum suarum velci & vestiri. *Vn. S. Brendani.* ² In quo tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum; ut cum in septem portiones esset cum praepositis sibi rectoribus monasterium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet: qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant. *Bed. lib. 2. hist. Eccles. cap. 2.*

there

there is said to have been so great a number of Monkes, that the Monastery being divided into seven portions (together with the Rectors appointed over them) none of all those portions had lesse than three hundred persons in them: all which (saith Bede) were wont to live by the labour of their owne hands. From the destruction of which Monastery, unto the erection of *Tny Gwyn*, or *White-house* (which is said to have been about the yeere 1146.) the setter forth of the * Welsh Chronicle observeth, that there were no Abbeyes among the Britons.

* Chronicle of
Wales, pag. 253,
254.

Here in Ireland Bishop Colman founded the Monastery of *Magio* (in the † county of *Limrick*) for the entertainment of the English: where they¹ did live according to the example of the reverend Fathers (as Bede writeth) under a rule and a canonick Abbot, in great continency and sincerity, with the labour of their owne hands. Like whereunto was the monastery of *Mailros* also, planted by Bishop *Aidan* and his followers in *Northumberland*; where *St. Cuthbert* had his education: who affirmed, that^m the life of such Monkes was justly to be admired, which were in all things subject to the commands of their Abbot; and ordered all the times of their watching, praying, fasting, and working, according to his direction.

‡ *Excubiasque, famemque, preces, manuumq; laborem
Ad votum gaudent prout frangere regentis.*

As for their fasting (for of their watching and praying there is no question made; and of their working wee have already spoken sufficiently) by the

† *Vid. Annal. Hibern. a Camdeno edit. ad an. 1370.*
l Ad exemplum venerabilium patrum, sub regulâ & Abbate canonico, in magnâ continentia & sinceritate proprio labore manuum vivunt. *Bed. lib. 4. hist. eccles. cap. 4.*
m Iure, inquit, est cenobitarum vita miranda, qui Abbatibus per omnia subijciuntur imperiis; ad ejus arbitrium cuncta vigilandi, orandi, jejunandi, atque operandi tempora moderantur. *Bed. vit. Cuthbert. pref. cap. 12.* n *Id. Carm. cap. 20.*

rule

rule of Columbanus, they were *every day to fast, and every day to eate: that by this meanes, ^p the enabling of them for their spirituall proficiency might bee retained, together with the abstinence that did macerate the flesh. Hee would therefore have them ^aevery day to eate, because they were every day to profit; and because ^r abstinence, if it did exceed measure, would prove a vice and not a vertue. and he would have them to fast every day too, that is, not to eate any meate at all (for other fasts were not knowne in those dayes) untill evening. ^t Let the food of Monkes (saith he) be meane, and taken at evening, fying satiety and excesse of drink: that it may both sustaine them and not hurt them. This was the daily fasting and feeding of them that lived according to Columbanus his rule. although the strictnesse of the fast seemeth to have beene kept on Wednesdayes and Fridayes onely: which were the dayes of the weeke, wherein the ancient Irish (agreeable to the custome of the Grecian rather than the Roman Church) were wont to observe abstinence both from meate and from the * marriage bed. Whence in the booke before alledged, of the *Daily Penances of Monkes*, we finde this order set downe by the same Columbanus: that ^t if anyone, unlesse he were weake, did upon the Wednesday or Friday eate before the ninth houre (that is to say, before three of the clocke in the afternoone, according unto our account) hee should be punished with fasting two dayes in bread and water.

Dominico & in quarta feria & sexta, conjugales continere se debent. *Canonum Collectio, cusus initium*. Sancta Synodus bis in anno decrevit habere Concilia. *MS. in Bibliotheca Cotton.*
^t Si quis ante horam nonam quartā sextaq; feriā manducat, nisi infirmus; duos dies in pane & aquā. *Columban. lib. de quotidianis Penitent. monachor. cap. 13.*

and

o Quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie reficiendum est. *Columb. Regal. c. 5.*
^p Quia hæc est vera discretio, ut possibilitas spiritualis profectus cum abstinentiā carnem macerante retentetur. *Ibid.*
^q Ideo quotidie edendum est, quia quotidie proficiendum est. *Ibid.*
^r Si enim modum abstinētia excederit, vitium non virtus erit. *Ibid.*
^s Cibis sit vilis & vespertinus Monachorum, satietatem fugiens & potius ebrietatem; ut & sustineat, & non noccat. *Ibid.*

* Synodus Hi-bernienſium dicit. In tribus quadrageſimis anni, in die

u Cujus exemplis informati, tempore illo, religiosi quique viri ac feminae, consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, (excepta remissione quinquagesimae Paschalis) quarta & sexta sabbati ieiunium ad nonam usque horam protelare. Bed. lib. 3. hist. eccles. cap. 5.

x Quibus diebus cunctis, excepta Dominica, ieiunium ad vespeream iuxta morem protelant; nec tunc nisi panis permodicum, & unum ovum gallinaceum, cum parvo lacte aqua mixto percipiebant. Ibid. cap. 33.

y Ostendens evidenter, filios sapientiae intelligere, nec in

abstinendo nec in manducando esse iustitiam; sed in aequanimitate tolerandi inopiam, & temperantiam per abundantiam non se corrumpendi, atque opportune sumendi vel non sumendi ea, quorum non usus sed concupiscentia reprehendenda est. Claud. lib. 2. in Math. 2. Sunt nonnulli, qui spiritualibus vitiis impugnantur; sed his omis-
abstinentia affligunt. Ps. 5. Ps. 1.

and in *Bedes Ecclesiasticall Historie*; that * such as followed the information of *Aidan*, did upon the same dayes observe their fast, untill the same houre. in which history we also reade of Bishop *Cedd* (who was brought up at *Lindisfarne* with our *Aidan* and *Finan*) that keeping a strict fast, upon a speciall occasion, in the time of *Lent*, hee did * every day, except the Lords day, continue his fast; (as the manner was) untill the evening; and then also did eate nothing but a small pittance of bread, and one egge, with a little milke mingled with water. Where by the way you may note, that in those daies egges were eaten in *Lent*, and the *Sundayes* excepted from fasting, even then when the abstinence was precisely and in more than an ordinarie manner observed.

But generally for this point of the difference of meats, it is well noted by *Claudius* out of *S. Augustin*, that * the children of wisdom doe understand, that neither in abstaining nor in eating is there any vertue; but in contentednesse of bearing the want, and temperance of not corrupting a mans selfe by abundance, and of opportunely taking or not taking those things, of which not the use but the concupiscentie is to be blamed. and in the life of *Fursus*, the hypocrisie of them is justly taxed, that being * assaulted with spirituall vices, doe yet omit the care of them, and afflict their body with abstinence:

who

who ^a abstaining from meates, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving, fall to wicked things, as if they were lawfull; namely to pride, covetousnesse, envy, false witnessing, backbiting. Of whom Gildas giveth this good censure, in one of his Epistles which now are lost. ^b These men, while they doe feed on bread by measure, for this same very thing doe glory without measure; while they use water, they are withall drowned with the cup of hatred; while they feed on dry meates, they use detractions; while they spend themselves in watchings, they dispraise others that are oppressed with sleepe; preferring fasting before charitie, watching before justice, their owne invention before concord, severitie before humilitie, and lastly, man before God. Such mens fasting, unlesse it be proceeded unto by some vertue, profiteth nothing at all: but such as accomplish charitie, doe say with the harpe of the holy Ghost; All our righteousnesses are as the cloth of a menstruous woman. Thus Gildas: who upon this ground layeth downe this sound conclusion; wherewith wee will shut up this whole matter. ^c Abstinence from corporall meates is unprofitable without charitie. They are therefore the better men, who doe not fast much, nor abstaine from the creature of God beyond measure, but carefully keepe their

^a Multi enim cibi, quos Deus ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione creavit, abstinentes, hæc nefanda qualis licita sumunt; hoc est, superbiam, avaritiam, invidiam, falsum testimonium, blasphemiam. *Ibid.*

^b Gildas in epistolis suis. Hi dum pane ad mensuram vescuntur, pro hoc ipso tempore mensuram gloriantur, dum aqua utuntur, simul cilli poculo potantur; dum sicis ferculis vescuntur, detractionibus utuntur, dum vigiliis expendant, alios fornicarios vituperant.

rant: ieiunium caritati, vigiliis iustitiæ, propriam ad inventionem concordie, clausulam Ecclesiæ (al. Cellæ) severitatem humilitati, postremo hominem Deo anteponunt. Horum ieiunium, nisi per aliquas virtutes adfectatur, nihil prodest. qui vero caritatem perficiunt, cum citharâ Spiritus sancti dicunt: Quasi pannus menstruatæ, omnes iustitiæ notæ sunt. *Ex libro Canonum Cottoniensis, titulum 66.* ^c Abstinencia corporalium ciborum sine charitate inutilis est. Meliores ergo sunt, qui non magnopere ieiunant, nec supra modum à creaturâ Dei abstinere, cor intrinsicè nixum coram Domino sollicitè servantes, à quo sciunt exitum vitæ: quàm illi qui carnem non edunt, nec prandiis secularibus delectantur, neque vehiculis & equis rebus, pro his quasi superiores cæteris se putantes; quibus mors intravit per fenestras elationis. Gildas, *ibid.*

heart within pure before God, from whence they know cometh the issue of life : than they who eat no flesh, nor take delight in secular dinners, nor ride with coaches or horses, thinking themselves hereby to bee as it were superiour to others, upon whom death hath entred through the windows of haughtinesse.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Church, and various state thereof, especially in the dayes of Antichrist : of Miracles also, and of the Head of the Church.

CONCERNING the Catholike Church, our Doctors taught with S. Gregory; that God^a hath a vineyard, to wit, the universall Church, which from just Abel untill the last of the elect that shall be borne in the end of the world, as many Saints as it hath brought forth, so many branches (as it were) hath it budded. that^b the congregation of the just is called the kingdome of heaven, which is the Church of the just. that^c the sonnes of the Church bee all such as from the beginning of mankinde untill now, have attained to be just and holy. that^d what is said of the body, may bee said also of the members, and that in this respect, as well the Apostles and all beleevers, as the Church is selfe, have the title of

^a Habet vineam, universam scilicet Ecclesiam, quae ab Abel iusto usque ad ultimum electum qui in fine mundi nasciturus est, quot sanctos producit, quasi tot palmites mittit. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.*
^b Congregatio quippe iustorum, regnum caelorum dicitur; quod est Ecclesia iustorum. *Id. lib. 3. in Matth.*
^c Ecclesiae filii sunt omnes ab institutione generis humani usque nunc, quotquot iusti & sancti esse potuerunt. *Id. lib. 2. in Matth.*
^d His & ceteris instruitur, tam Apostolos omnesque credentes, quàm ipsam quoque Ecclesiam, columnam in Scripturis appellari; & nihil interesse de corpore quid dicatur in membris, cum & corpus dividatur in membra, & membra fiat corporis. *Id. in Gal. 2. et Hieronymo.*

a pillar

a pillar given them in the Scriptures. that ^e the Church may be considered two manner of wayes : both that which neyther hath spot nor wrinkle and is truly the body of Christ, and that which is gathered in the name of Christ without full and perfect vertues ; which notwithstanding by the warrant of the Apostle, may have the name of the Church given unto it, although it be depraved with error. that ^f the Church is said not to have spot or wrinkle, in respect of the life to come. that when the Apostle saith ; In a great house there are not only vessels of gold, &c. but some to honour and some to dishonour : (2 Tim. 2. 20.) by this great house he doth not understand the Church (as some have thought) which hath not spot nor wrinkle : but the world, in which the tares are mingled with the wheate. that yet in ^g the holy Church also, the evill are mingled with the good, and the reprobate with the elect : and that in this respect it is resembled unto the wise and foolish virgins ; as also to ^h the Kings marriage, by which this present Church is designed, wherein the good and the bad doe meet together. So that ⁱ in this Church, neyther the bad can bee without the good, nor the good without the bad : whom the holy Church notwithstanding doth both now receive indifferently, and separate afterwards at their going from hence.

The number of the good, Gildas complaineth to

tion. *Id. in 2 Tim. 2.* h Sancta Ecclesia decem Virginibus similis denuntiatur : in qua quia mali cum bonis & reprobis cum electis admixti sunt, recte similis virginibus prudentibus & satis esse perhibetur. *Claud. lib. 3. in Matib.* i Perhas regis nuptias praesens Ecclesia designatur ; in qua cum bonis & mali conveniunt. *Id. lib. 2. ad.* k In hac ergo Ecclesia, nec mali esse sine bonis, nec boni esse sine malis possunt ; quos tamen sancta Ecclesia & nunc indiscretè suscipit, & postmodum in egressione discernit. *Id. ibid.*

e Ecclesiam vocat, quas postea errore arguit depravatas.

Ex quo noscendum, dupliciter Ecclesiam posse dici : & eam, quae non habet, ac maculam aut rugam, & verè corpus Christi sit ; & eam quae in Christi nomine abique plenè perfectis, quae virtutibus congregatur. *Id. in Galat. 1. et eodem.*

f Ecclesiam non habituram maculam neque rugam dicitur, respectu futuræ vitæ. *Sicut in Eph. 1.*

g Magnam domum non Ecclesiam dicit (ut quidam putant) quæ non habet maculam neque rugam : sed mundum, in quo zizania sunt mixta tri-

¶ Exceptis paucis, qui (ob amissionē, tantę multitudinis, quę quotidie prona ruit ad tartara) tam brevis numeri habentur; ut eos quodammodo venerabilis mater Ecclesia in suo sinu recumberes non videat, quos solos veros filios habet. *Gild. epist.*

¶ Nonnunquam Ecclesia aantis gentilium pressuris, non solum afflicta, sed & fracta est; ut, si fieri possit, redemptor ipsius eam prius deservisse ad tempus videretur. *Cloud. lib. 2. in Matth.*

¶ In Ecclesia non apparebit; impiis tunc persecutoribus ultra modum ferventibus. *Id. lib. 3. in Matth.* o Temporibus Antichristi non solum tormenta crebriora & acerbiora, quam prius consueverant, ingerenda sunt fidelibus; sed (quod gravius est) signorum quoque operationes qui tormenta ingerunt, comitabitur: testis Apostolo, qui ait; Cujus est advenus secundum operationem Satanz, in omni seductione, signis, & prodigiis mendacii. *Id. lib. 2. ad. p.* Prefigiosis; sicut antę prędictum est; Dabunt signa, ita ut seducantur, si fieri possit, etiam electi per phantasticam virtutem: sicut Iannes & Mambres coram Pharaone fecerunt. *Sedulius 2. Thes. 2.* q Quis ergo ad fidem convertitur incredulus? cujus jam credentis non paret de concutitur fidei: quando persecutor pietatis sit etiam operator virtutis: idemque ipse qui tormentis servat ut Christus negetur, provocat miraculis ut Antichristo credatur. *Cloud. lib. 3. in Matth.*

have beene ^{so} exceeding short in his time among the Britons, in comparison of the other; that their mother the Church in a manner did not see them lying in her own lap, albeit they were the onely true sonnes which she had. And for externall pressures, our Doctōrs have delivered, that ^{the} Church sometimes is not only afflicted, but also defiled with such oppressions of the Gentiles; that if it were possible, her redeemer might seeme for a time utterly to have forsaken her: and that, in the raging times of Antichrist, ^{the} Church shall not appear; by reason that the wicked persecutors shall then exercise their cruelty beyond all measure. that in those times of Antichrist, not onely more often and more bitter torments shall be put upon the faithfull, than before were wont to be; but (which is more grievous) the working of miracles also shall accompany those that inflict the torments: as the Apostle witnesseth, saying; Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all seduction, signes, and lying wonders. namely, ^{the} juggling ones: as it was foretold before; They shall shew such signes that, if it were possible, the very elect should bee deceived. by such a phantasticall power, as Iannes and Mambres wrought withall before Pharaō. ^{What} unbelievever

therefore

therefore (say they) will then bee converted unto the faith? and who is hee that already beleeveth, whose faith trembleth not and is not shaken? when the persecuter of piety is the worker of wonders: and the same man that exerciseth crueltie with torments, that Christ may be denied; provoketh by miracles, that Antichrist may bee beleevd? And what a pure and a single eye is there need of, that the way of wisdom may be found; against which so great deceivings and errours of evill and perverse men, doe make such a noyse? all which notwithstanding men must passe through; and so come to most certaine peace, and the unmoveable stabilitie of wisdom.

Hence concerning Miracles, they give us these instructions. First, that neither if an Angel should shew himselfe unto us to seduce us, being suborned with the deceits of his father the diuell, ought he to prevaile against us; neither if a miracle should be done by any one, as it is said of Simon Magus that he did flye in the ayre: neither that signes should terrifie us, as done by the Spirit; because that our Saviour also hath given us warning of this before-hand. (Matth. 24. 24, 25.) Secondly, that the faith having increased, miracles were to cease; forasmuch as they are declared to have beene given for their sakes that beleve not. and therefore that now when the number of the faithfull is growne, there bee many within the holy Church that retaine the life of vertues,

adversum nos: neq; si virtus ab aliquo facta fiet, sicut dicitur à Simone Mago in aëre volasse. Sedul. in Rom. 8. t. Neque signa vos terreat, tanquam per Spiritum facta: quia hoc & Salvator præmonuit. Idem 3. Thess. 2. u. Hic ostenditur, crescente fide signa cessare: quando fidelium causa danda esse prædicantur. Id. in 1. Corinth. 14. x. Vnde nunc cum fidelium numerositas excrevit, intra sanctam Ecclesiam multi sunt qui vitam virtutum tenent, & signa virtutum non habent: quia frustra miraculum foris ostenditur, si deest quod intus operetur. Nam iuxta Magistrum Gentium vocem: Lingue in signum sunt, non fidelibus sed infidelibus. Claudib. 1. in Matth.

Quim ergo mundo & simpliciter oculo opus est, ut inveniat via sapientie, cui tantæ malorum & perverforum hominum deceptiones errorumque obstruunt? quos omnes necesse est evadere, hoc est, venire ad certissimam pacem, & immobilem stabilitatem sapientie. Id. lib. 1. in

Matth. Nec si se Angelus nobis ostendat, ad seducendos nos subornatus fallacis patris sui Diaboli, prævalere debet

and yet have not those signes of vertues : because a miracle is to no purpose shewed outwardly, if that bee wanting which it should worke inwardly. For according to the saying of the Master of the Gentiles ; Languages are for a signe, not to the faithfull but to infidels, (1 Cor. 14. 22.) Thirdly, that the working of miracles is no good argument to prove the holinesse of them that bee the instruments thereof : and therefore *when the Lord doth such things for the convincing of infidels, he yet giveth us warning that we should not bee deceived thereby, supposing invisible wisdom to bee there, where we shall behold a visible miracle.* For hee saith : Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord ; have wee not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out Devils, and in thy name done many miracles ? (Matth. 7. 22.) Fourthly, that *he tempteth God, who for his own vaine glory will make shew of a superfluous and unprofitable miracle.* Such as that (for example) was, whereunto the Divil tempted our Saviour, Matth. 4. 6. to come downe headlong from the pinnacle of the Temple unto the plaine, *a every miracle being vaine, which worketh not some profit unto mans salvation.* Whereby wee may easily discerne, what to judge of that infinite number of idle miracles, wherewith the lives of our Saints are every where stuffed : many whereof wee may justly censure (as *Amphilochius* doth the tales that the Poets tell of their Gods) for

Melior igitur est deus et sapientior,

Fables, of laughter worthy, and of teares,

y Qualia propter infideles cum fecerit Dominus, monuit tamen ne talibus decipiatur, arbitrandes ibi esse invisibilem sapientiam, ubi miraculum visibile viderimus. Adjungit ergo & dicit, Multi dicent mihi in illa die, Domine, Domine : nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus, & in tuo nomine demonia eiecimus, & in tuo nomine virtutes multas fecimus? *Id. lib. eod.* 2. Ille Deum tentat, qui iactantur suae vitio, superfluum & inutilem vult ostentare virtutem. Quid enim utilitatis habet, quid commodi confert, si praecepta hinc in plana descendere? *Id. lib. eod.* a Inane est enim omne miraculum, quod utilitatem saluti non operatur humanæ. *Ibid.* b *Amphilochius in Lambis ad Seleucum.*

Yea some of them also we may rightly brand, as

Modus, doctus, doctus, doctus

Unseemly fables, and Divels documents.

For what (for example) can be more *unseemly*, and tend further to the advancement of the *doctrine of divels*, than that which *Cogitosus* relateth in the life of *S. Brigid*? that she, for saving the credit of a Nunne that had beene gotten with childe, *blesst her faith-fully* forsooth (for so the author speaketh) and so caused her conception to *vanish away, without any delivery and without any paine.* which for the saving of *St. Brigid's* owne credit, eyther *Hen. Canisius* or the friars of *Aichstad* (from whom he had his copie of *Cogitosus*) thought fit to scrape out, and rather to leave a blanke in the booke, than to suffer so lewd a tale to stand in it. But I will not stirre this puddle any further: but proceed on, unto some better matter.

c Cogitosus. Brigid in exemplaribus MSS. antiquiss. Bibliothec. Cottonianae, & Ecclesiae Sarruburienensis. d Tum. 5. Antiqu. Iellina. in lacuna, sub f. nem, pag. 629.

And now are wee come at last to the great Point, that toucheth the *Head* and the *foundation* of the Church. Concerning which *Sedulius* observeth, that the title of *foundation* is attributed both to *Christ*, and to the *Apostles and Prophets*. that where it is said, *Esay 28. 16. Behold, I lay in Sion a stone, &c.* *it is certaine, that by the rocke or stone Christ is signified.* that, in *Ephes. 2. 20.* *the Apostles are the foundation, or Christ rather the foundation of the Apostles.* For *Christ* (saith hee) *is the foundation, who is also called the corner stone, joyning and holding together the two walls.*

a Fundamenta. ra.] Christum, & Apostolos, & Prophetas. Sedul. in Hebr. 11. f Compertum est in petra vel lapide Christum esse significatum. Idem Rom. 9. g Apostoli fundamentum

sunt, vel Christus fundamentum est Apostolorum. Christus est fundamentum, qui etiam lapis dicitur angularis, duos conjungens & continens parietes. Ideo hic fundamentum & summus est lapis; quia in ipso & fundatur, & consummatur Ecclesia. Id. in Ephes. 2.

h. Vt ministros
Christi: non
ut fundamen-
tum. Id. in

1 Cor. 4.

i. Super hanc
petram ædifi-
cabo ecclesiam
meam, id est,

super Dominum
salvatore, qui
fidei suo cog-
nitum, amatori,

confessori, par-
ticipium sui
dominis dona-
vit, ut scilicet a

petra Petrus
vocaretur. Et
dicitur Eccle-
sia: quia non

nisi per fidem
& dilectionem
Christi, per

susceptionem
sacramentorum
Christi, per

observantiam
mandatorum
Christi, ad for-
tem electorum

& æternam
pertingitur vi-
tam, Apostolo

attestante qui
ait; Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est, qui est
Christus Iesus. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.* k. Petrum solum nominat, & sibi comparat: quia
primatum ipse accepit ad fundandam Ecclesiam: se quoque pari modo electum, ut prima-
tum habeat in fundandis Gentium Ecclesiis. *Id. in Galat. 2.* l. *Id. in Galat. 5.* m. *Id.*

in Galat. 2. n. Ab his itaque probatum dicit donum quod accepit à Deo, ut dignus
esset habere primatum in prædicatione Gentium, sicut & habebat Petrus in prædicatione
Circumcisionis. *Id. in Gal. 2.*

Therefore is hee the foundation and chiefe stone; because
in him the Church is both founded and finished. and we
are to account the Apostles ^{as} Ministers of Christ,
and not as the foundation. The famous place, Mat-
thew 16. 18. (whereupon our Romanists lay the
maine foundation of the Papacie) *Claudius* expoun-
deth in this sort. ¹ Upon this rocke will I build my
Church, that is to say, upon the Lord and Saviour, who
granted unto his faithfull knower, lover, and confessor
the participation of his owne name, that from petra (the
rocke) hee should be called Peter. The Church is builded
upon him: because onely by the faith and love of Christ,
by the receiving of the Sacraments of Christ, by the ob-
servation of the commandements of Christ, wee come to
the inheritance of the elect and eternall life, as wit-
nesseth the Apostle, who saith; Other foundation can no
man lay: besides that which is laid, which is Christ Iesus.

Yet doth the same *Claudius* acknowledge, that
St. Peter received a kinde of primacy for the foun-
ding of the Church (in respect whereof hee termeth
him ¹ Ecclesie principem, and ² Apostolorum principem,
the prince of the Church, and the prince or chiefe of
the Apostles) but hee addeth withall, that Saint Paul
also was chosen in the same manner, to have the primacy
in founding the Churches of the Gentiles. and that hee
³ received this gift from God, that hee should bee worthy

to have the primacie in preaching to the Gentiles, as Peter had it in the preaching of the Circumcision. and therefore that ° St. Paul challengeth this grace as granted by God to him alone, as it was granted to Peter alone among the Apostles. and that hee esteemed himselfe not to be inferiour unto St. Peter, because both of them were by one ordained unto one and the same ministry. and that writing to the Galatians, q he did in the title name himselfe an Apostle of Christ, to the end that by the very authority of that name hee might terrifie his readers; judging, that all such as did beleewe in Christ, ought to be subject unto him.

It is furthermore also observed by Claudius, that ° as when our Saviour propounded the question generally unto all the Apostles, Peter did answer as one for all; so what our Lord answered unto Peter, in Peter he did answer unto all. and therefore ° howsoever the power of loosening and binding might seeme to be given by the Lord unto Peter alone, yet without all manner of doubt it is to be knowne, that it was given unto the rest of the Apostles also: as himselfe doth witnesse, who appearing unto them after the triumph of his passion and resurrection, breathed on them, and said unto them all; Receive the holy Ghost, whose finnes ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose sins ye retaine they are retained. Gildas the Briton goeth further, affirming that ° to the true Priest

o Gratiā sibi soli primus vendicat concessam à Deo, sicut & soli Petro concessa est inter Apostolos. Id. ibid. p Non illi sum inferior; quia ab uno sumus ambo in unum ministerium ordinati. Id. ibid.

q Apostolum se Christi titulo prænотavit, ut ex ipsa lectione nominis auctoritate teneret; judicans omnes, qui in Christo crederent, debere sibi esse subiectos. Id. in Gal. I.

r Nam sicut interrogatis generaliter omnibus, Petrus respondit unus pro omnibus: ita

quod Petro Dominus respondit, in Petro omnibus respondit. Id. lib. 1. in Matth. f. Quæ solvendi ac ligandi potestas, quamvis soli Petro data videatur à Domino; abique ulla tamen dubietate noscendum est, quia & cæteris Apostolis datur: ipso teste, qui post passionis resurrectionisque suæ triumphum apprensus eis insufflavisset, & dixit omnibus: Accipite Spiritum sanctum, quorum remisistis peccata, remittuntur eis, & quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt. Id. lib. eod. t Vero sacerdoti dicitur: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Gild. epist.

u Petro ejusq;
successoribus
dicit Dominus:
Et tibi dabo
claves regni
coelorum. *Ibid.*
x Itemque
omni sancto
sacerdoti pro-
mittitur: Et
quæcunque
solveris super
terram, erunt
soluta & in coe-
lo; & quæcunq;
ligaveris super
terram, erunt
ligata & in
coelo. *Ibid.*
y Apostolicam
sedem legitimè
obtinere. *Ibid.*
z Si hunc vos
Apostoli reti-
netis in omni-
bus affectibus;
ejus quoque
cathedræ legi-
timè insidere
noscat. *Ibid.*
a Sedem Petri
Apostoli im-
mundis pedibus
usurpantes; sed
merito cupidi-
tatis in Iudæ
traditoris pe-
ssilentem ca-
thedram deci-
dentes. *Ibid.*
b Super ipsos Ecclesiæ sit positum fundamentum. *Claud. in Gal. 2.* d Con-
flans in Deitimore, & fide immobilis, super quem ædificatur ut Petrum Ecclesiæ: cuiusque
Apostolorum à Deo sortitus est, & inferni portæ adversus eum non prevalebunt. *Hymn. in
laud. S. Patricij.* e Christus illum sibi elegit in terris Vicarium. *Ibid.*

it is said; Thou art Peter, and upon this rocke I will build my Church. that ^a to Peter and his successors our Lord saith; And unto thee will I give the Keyes of the Kingdome of heaven. and consequently, that ^a unto every holy Priest it is promised: Whatsoever thou shalt binde on earth, shalbe bound likewise in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shalbe loosed likewise in heaven. Whereupon hee pronounceth of the good Priests of Brittain; that they ^y doe lawfully obtaine the Apostolicall state, and ^a lawfully sit in the chaire of St. Paul: and on the other side of the bad, that ^a with uncleane feete they usurpe the seate of the Apostle Peter, but by the demerit of their covetousnesse fall into the pessilent chaire of the traytor Iudas; and so the ordainers of such, place ^b after a sort Iudas the betrayer of our Lord, in the seate of Peter.

Lastly, as *Claudius* noteth, that ^a the foundation of the Church was laid not onely upon St. Peter, but also upon St. John: so in a certaine Hymne supposed to be written by *Secundinus* (knowne in this country commonly by the name of St. Scachlin) in the yeere of our Lord CCCCLV. St. Patrick also is thus commended. ^a He is constant in the feare of God, and unmovable in the faith, upon whom the Church is builded as upon Peter; whose Apostleship also he hath obtained from God, and the gates of Hell shall not prevaile against him. yea ^c Christ is there said to have chosen him for his Vicar upon earth. His See likewise of Armagh, is by one

Ibid. b Iudas quodam modo in Petri cathedrâ Domini traditorem stant. *Ibid.* c Super ipsos Ecclesiæ sit positum fundamentum. *Claud. in Gal. 2.* d Conflans in Deitimore, & fide immobilis, super quem ædificatur ut Petrum Ecclesiæ: cuiusque Apostolorum à Deo sortitus est, & inferni portæ adversus eum non prevalebunt. *Hymn. in laud. S. Patricij.* e Christus illum sibi elegit in terris Vicarium. *Ibid.*

Calvus

Calvus Perennis in the dayes of *Brian* king of Ireland (who was slaine, as appeareth by ^f *Marianus* in the yeere 1014.) termed & the *Citie* Apostolick. So *Desiderius* Bishop of *Cahors* in France, is by our countryman *Gallus* saluted both ^h *Papa* and *Apostolicus*: and the Bishop of *Kildare* in Ireland, honoured by *Cogitosus*, with the stile of ⁱ *Summus Sacerdos*, and ^k *Summus Pontifex*, the highest Priest and the highest Bishop. those titles and prerogatives, which the Pope now peculiarly challengeth unto himselfe, as en- signes of his *Monarchy*, being heretofore usually communicated unto other Bishops, when the universall Church was governed by way of *Aristocratie*.

^f *Brianus rex Hibernia, Paraceve Pasche, sexta feria, ix. Calend. Maii, manibus & mente ad Deum intentus necatur. Marian. Scot. See Caradoc of Llancarran, in the Chronicle of Wales, pag. 80. g* *Sanctus Patricius iens ad caelum, mandavit totum fru-*

ctum laboris sui (tam baptismi, tam causarum, quam elemosynarum) deferendum esse Apostolicæ Urbis, quæ Scoticæ nominatur Arddmachæ. Sic repperi in Bibliothecis Scriptorum. Ego scripsi, id est, *Calvus Perennis*, in conspectu *Briani Imperatoris Sctorum. Ex. Vet. Cod. Ecclesiæ Ardmachæ. h* *Domino semper suo, & Apostolico Patri, Desiderio Papæ, Gallus peccator. i* *Cogitosus in vit. Brigid. sum. 5. antiqu. test. Henr. Canisii, pag. 625. lineæ. k* *Ibid. pag. 640. lineæ.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Popes spirituall Iurisdiction; and how little footing it had gotten at first within these parts.

MAfter *Campion* telleth us; that ^a when Ireland first received Christendome, they gave themselves into the Iurisdiction both spirituall and temporall of the See of Rome. But herein he speaketh without booke; of the spirituall iurisdiction untruly, of the temporall absurdly. For from the first legation of *Palladius* and *Patricius*, who were sent to plant the faith in this country,

^a *Edm. Camp. History of Ireland. lib. 2. c. 2.*

country, it cannot bee shewed out of any monument of antiquity, that the Bishop of *Rome* did ever send any of his *Legats* to exercise spirituall jurisdiction here (much lesse any of his *Deputies* to exercise jurisdiction temporall) before *Gilbertus, quem aiunt primā functum legatione Apostolica sedis per universam Hiberniam*; saith one that lived in his own time, even *Bernard* himselfe in the life of *Malachias*. One or two instances peradventure may be alledged out of some obscure authors, whose names, and times, and authority no man can tell us newes of: but unlesse that which is delivered by *Bernard*, as the tradition that was current in his time, can bee controlled by some record that may appeare to have beene written before his dayes, we have small reason to detract any thing from the credit of so cleere a testimony.

This country was heretofore, for the number of holy men that lived in it, termed the *Iland of Saints*: of that innumerable company of Saints, whose memory was revered here; what one received any solemne canonization from the *Pope*, before *Malachias* Archbishop of *Armagh*, & *Laurence* of *Dublin*? who lived, as it were, but the other day. We reade of sundry *Archbishops* that have beene in this land: betwixt the dayes of *Saint Patrick* and of *Malachias*, what one of them can be named, that ever sought for a *Pall* from *Rome*? *Ioceline* indeed a late Monke of the Abbey of *Furnesse*, writeth of *St. Patrick*; that the Bishop of *Rome* ^b conferred the *Pall* upon him, together with the execution of legatine power in his

^b Pallio decoravit, illique vices suas committens atq; legatum suum constituens, quæcunque in Hiberniâ gesserat, constituerat, disposuerat, auctoritatis suæ munimine confirmavit. *Iocelin. vit. Patric. cap. 166.*

roome. But he is well knowne to be a most fabulous author : and for this particular, *Bernard* (who was his ancient) informeth us farre otherwise; that ^c *from the very beginning untill his time, the metropolitall See of Armagh wanted the use of the Pall.* with whom the author of the *Annales of Mailros* doth fully accord; noting that ^d *in the yeere 1151. Pope Eugenius* (the same to whom *Bernard* did write his bookes *de Consideratione*) did by his Legate *John Papiron* transmit foure Pals into Ireland; whither a Pall before had never bene brought. And therefore *Giraldus Cambrensis*, howsoever he acknowledgeth that *Saint Patrick* did ^e *choose Armagh for his seate, and did appoint it to be as it were a metropolitall See, and the proper place of the primacie of all Ireland; yet doth hee affirme withall, that in very deed there were no Archbishops in Ireland, but that Bishops only did consecrate one another, untill Iohannes Papirio* (or *Paparo*) the Popes Legate brought foure Pals thither. whereupon some of our Chroniclers after him, give this note concerning *Gelasius*, who was at that time Archbishop of *Armagh*; that ^f *hee is said to have bene the first Archbishop, because hee used the first Pall: and that others before him were called Archbishops and Primates in name only, for the reverence of Saint Patrick, as the Apostle of that Nation.*

And indeed it might seeme, that the complaint

^f Archiepiscopi vero in Hibernia nulli fuerant; sed tantum se Episcopi invicem consecrabant: donec Iohannes Papyrio Romanæ sedis legatus, non multis retro annis advenit. Hic quatuor pallia in Hiberniam portavit, &c. *Ibid. cap. 17.* ^g Hic primus Archiepiscopus dicitur, quia primo pallio usus est. Alii vero ante ipsum solo nomine Archiepiscopi & Primates vocabantur; ob reverentiam & honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam Apostoli illius gentis. *Pembrius, author. Annal. Hibern. à Guil. Camdeno edit. Thomas Casseus in Chronic. Hibern. MS. ad ann. 1174.*

^c Metropolitica sedes deerat adhuc, & desiderat ab initio pallii usus. *Bernard. vit. Malach.*

^d Anno 1151. Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia per legatum Iohannem Papirium transmissit in Hiberniam, quod nunquam antea pallium delatum fuerat. *Annal. Cambrij Metras. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.*

^e Apud Ard-macham sibi sedem elegit; quam etiam quasi metropolitum constituit & proprium totius Hiberniæ primatiz locum.

Girald. Cambrij Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap. 16.

h Episcopi
quoq; (qui de-
bent esse forma
& exemplum
aliis Canonice
religionis) in-
ordinate, sicut
audivimus, aut
à solis Episco-
pis, aut in locis
ubi ordinari
non debent,
consecrantur.
*Anselm. lib. 3.
epist. 142.*
i Dicitur, ab
uno Episcopo
Episcopum,
sicut quemlibet
presbyterum,
ordinari. *Id.
ibid. epist. 147.*

k Terdeluacho
in cyto Regi
Hibernie, Ar-
chiepiscopi,
Episcopi, Ab-
batibus, Proce-
ribus, omni-
busq; Christia-
nis Hiberniam
inhabitantibus.
*Gregor. vii.
epist. ad Hibern.
MS. in Biblio-
theca Cotton.*

made by *Anselme* in his letters to *Muriardach* King of Ireland, that ^h Bishops here were consecrated by *Bishops alone*, might somewhat justify the truth of *Giraldus* his relation; if we did not find a further complaint there also, that they were often ⁱ ordained by *one Bishop onely*. But as this latter argueth, not the want of a competent number of Bishops in the land (for, as we shall heare presently, they had more than a sufficient number of such) but a neglect of the observance of the Canon provided by the *Nicene* Fathers in that behalfe: so can it not rightly bee inferred out of the former, that wee had no Archbishops here at that time, but that the Bishops rather did faile much in the Canonically respect which they ought to shew unto their Metropolitane. For that the Irish had their Archbishops (beside many other pregnant testimonies that might bee produced) Pope *Hildebrands* owne Briefe doth sufficiently manifest; which is directed ^k to *Terdeluachus* (or *Tirlagh*) the illustrious King of Ireland, the ARCHBISHOPS, Bishops, Abbots, Nobles, and all Christians inhabiting Ireland. And for the Archbishops of *Armagh* in particular; it appeareth most evidently by *Bernard* in the life of *Malachias*, that they were so far from being Metropolitans and Primates in name onely, that they exercised much greater authority before they were put to the charges of fetching Pals from Rome, than ever they did afterward: and that they did not onely consecrate Bishops, but erected also new *Bishopricks*, and *Archbishopricks* too sometimes, according as they thought fitting.

We read in *Nennius*, that at the beginning *St. Patrick*

trick¹ founded here 365. Churches, and ordained 365. Bishops, beside 3000. Presbyters. In proceſſe of time the number of Bishops was daily ^m multiplied according to the pleaſure of the Metropolitan, (whereof Bernard doth much comtaine) and that, not onely ſo farre, that every Church almoſt had a ſeverall Biſhop: but alſo that in ſome ^m Townes or Cities there were ordained more than one; yea and oftentimes ^o Biſhops were made without any certaine place at all aſſigned unto them. And as for the erecting of new Archbiſhopricks: if we beleave our Legends, ^p King Engus and S. Patrick, with all the people, did ordaine, that in the City and See of Albens (which is Emelye, now annexed to Caſhell) ſhould be the Archbiſhoprick of the whole Province of Mounſter. in like manner alſo, ^q Brandubh King of the Lagenians, with the conſent as well of the Laity as of the Clergie, did appoint that in the Citie of Fernes (which was the See of Moedog, otherwiſe called Edanus) ſhould bee the Archbiſhopricke of all the Province of Leinſter. But Bernards testimony, wee have no reaſon not to beleave, relating what was knowne to be done in his owne very time: that ^r Cel-

1 Eccleſi- ſiſt fundavit
CCCCXV. Or-
dinavit Episco-
pos eodem nu-
mero CCELXV.
Presbyteros
autem uſq; ad
tria milia or-
dinavit. Noma-
liſtar. Erit. MS.
m Mutabantur
& multiplicaban-
tur Episco-
pi pro libitu
metropolitani;
ita ut unus E-
piſcopatus uno
non eſſet con-
tentus, ſed ſin-
gula penè Ec-
cleſiæ ſingulos
haberent Epi-
ſcopos. Bernard.
vit. Malach.
n Quod in
villis, vel civi-
tariis plures
ordinantur.
Lanfranc. epiſt.
ad Tugdual-
dum regem

Hibern. apud Baron. ann. 1089. num. 16.

o Dicitur, Episcopos in terrâ veſtrâ paſtim eligi, & ſine certo Episcopatus loco conſtitui. Anſelm. lib. 3. epiſt. 147. ad Muriardactum regem Hibern. p Rex Engus & S. Patricius, cum omni populo, ordinaverunt Archiepiſcopatum Mumentiz in civitate & in ſede ſancti Albei, qui tunc ab eisdem Archiepiſcopo ordinatus eſt, per ſeculum. Ex viſâ S. Declani. Rex Engus & Patricius ordinaverunt, ut in civitate & cathedra ſancti Albei eſſet Archiepiſcopatus omnium Memonenſium ſemper. Ex viſâ S. Albei. q Factâ Synodo magnâ in terrâ Lagenenſium, decrevit rex Brandubh, & tam laici quàm clerici, ut Archiepiſcopatus omnium Lagenenſium ſemper eſſet in ſede & cathedra ſancti Moedog. Et tunc ſanctus Moedog à multis catholicis conſecratus eſt Archiepiſcopus. Ex viſâ S. Edani. A rege jam Lagenenſium Brandubh filio Eathach conſtitutum eſt, ut Archiepiſcopatus Lagenenſium in civitate ſancti Moedog eſſet. Ipſa civitas vocatur Ferna, quæ eſt in terrâ gentis Kenſelach. Ex viſâ S. Moling. r Erat & altera Metropolitica ſedes, quæ de novo conſtituerat Celſus, primæ tamen ſedi & illius Archiepiſcopo ſubdita tanquam primatû. Bernard in viſâ Malachie.

Just the Archbishop of *Armagh*, had of the new constituted another Metropolitall See, but subiect to the first See, and to the Archbishop thereof. By which wee may see that in the erection of new Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, all things were here done at home, without consulting with the See of Rome for the matter.

As for the nomination and confirmation of the Archbishops and Bishops themselves: wee finde the manner of advancing Saint *Livinus* to his Archbishoprick thus laid downe by *Boniface* in the description of his life. ' When *Menalchus* the Arch-

Illo defuncto, Rex Calomagnus the King of Scots, and the troope of his Officers with the under-courtiers, and the concourse of all that countrey, with the same affection of heart cryed out, that the holy Priest Livinus was most worthily to bee advanced unto the honour of this order. The King (more devout than all of them) consenting thereunto, three or foure times placed the blessed man in the chaire of the Archbishoprick with due honour, according to the will of the Lord. In like manner also did King Ecgfrid cause our Cuthbert to be ordained Bishop of the Church of Landisfarnie; and King Pipin granted the Bishoprick of Salzburg to our Virgilius: and Duke Gunzo would have conferred the Bishoprick of Constance upon our Gallus; but that he refused it, and caused another upon his recommendation to be preferred thereunto.

In the booke of *Landasse*, which is called *Tilo*

nore, Domino iubente, collocavit. Bonifac. Vit. Livin. t. Rex Ecgfridus Episcopum fecit ordinari Lindisfarnensium ecclesie virum sanctum & venerabilem Cudbertum. Bed. lib. 4. hist. cap. 27. & Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 24. u. Episcopatum Salzburgensem, pro debito regie magnificentie, sancto concessit Virgilio. Vit. Episc. Salzburgensem. 2. Antiqu. test. Henr. Canis. pag. 359. & tom. 6. pag. 1174. x. walefrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 16, 17, 19, 20. y. Theodor. Campidonensis. vel quicumque author fuit vice Magni. lib. 1. cap. 8. edit. Goldast, 10. Canis.

(cyther

(eyther from *Telau* the second Bishop of that place, whose life is largely there described; or rather from the place it selfe, which of old was called * *Teilo*) we reade that *Germanus* and *Lupus* * did consecrate chiefe Doctor over all the Britons inhabiting the right side of Britanie, *S. Dubricius*, being chosen Archbishop by the King and all the Diocesse: and that by the graunt of *Mouric* the King, the Nobilitie, Clergie, and people, they appointed his Episcopall See to bee at *Landaff*. that *Oudocens*, the third Bishop after him, being elected by King *Mouric*, and the chiefe of the Clergie and Laitie of the whole Diocesse, was by them sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his consecration. that *Gucannus* (the 26th. Bishop of that Church) was consecrated by *Dunstan* Archbishop of Canterbury; the pastorall staffe being given him in the Court by *Edgar* chiefe King of the English. that next after him, ^c in the year

* In the *Laws of Howell Dda* it is named Ecclesia *Teilau*; and *John Caradoc of Llancarvan Chronicle of Wales*, pag. 94. *Ioseph* is called Bishop of *Teilo*, or *Landaff*.

z. Super omnes Britannos dextralis partis Britannie B. *Dubricium* summum Doctorem, à Rege & ab omni parochia electum Archiepiscopum, consecraverunt. Hæc dignitate ei

à Germano & Lupo datâ; constituerunt ei Episcopalem sedem concessu *Mourici Regis*, Principum, Cleri & populi, apud Podium *Lantavi*. *Lib. Ecclesie Landavenfis, MS.* a. Electione Cleri & populi succedit in episcopatu *Landavenfis Ecclesie*, electione cleri *Mercguini* & *Elgoreti* & *Gunnui* magistri; & trium Abbatum, *Catgen abbatis Iduti*, *Concenn abbatis Catmaili*, *Cetnig abbatis Docguinni*; laicorum, *Regis Mourici*, & filiorum *Athruis* & *Idnerth*, *Guidgen* & *Cetiau*, *Brugwail*, *Gendoc*, *Louhonerd*, *Cargualaryr*, & omnium principum totius parochie. Missus est *S. Oudocens* cum clericis suis prædictis (*Merchui* & *Elguoret* & *Gunubui*) cum legatis trium Abbatum & Regis & Principum, ad *Dorobornensem* civitatem ad beatum Archiepiscopum; ubi sacras est ecclesie *Landavie* in honore *S. Petri* fundata. *Ibid.* b. DCCCLXXXII. (vel DCCCLXXXII. potius) Incarnationis Domini anno, *Gucannus* episcopus *Landavie* consecratus à metropolitano *Dunstano* *Dorobornensis* ecclesie archiepiscopo, datâ sibi virgâ pastorali in regali curiâ à summo Rege Anglorum *Ægarno*. *Ibid.* c. DCCCCLXXXIII. anno, electione factâ regum *Morcannuc*, *Ouein* videlicet & *Idguallaun*, *Carell* & *Cinuin* filiorum *Moreantheu*, *Rotri* & *Grifud* filiorum *Elired*, & totius Cleri & populi *Morcannuc* infra hortum *Taratir* in *Gui* & hortum *Tivi* positi; & dato sibi baculo in regali curiâ à summo Rege Anglorum *Adelredo*, & à metropolitano *Dorobornensis* Ecclesie *Albrico* archiepiscopo, *Bledri* episcopus *Landavie* consecratus est; & 1012. anno Incarnationis Domini, ordinationis sue autem 39. anno, migravit ad Dominum. *Ibid.*

983. election being made by the Kings and the whole Clergie and people of *Glamorgan*, and the pastorall staffe given in the Court by *Ethelred* chiefe King of the English; *Bledri* was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is there named *Albricus*. (though in truth, at the yeare here assigned, *Dunstan* did still hold the place.) and that after his decease in the yeare 1022. ^dby the election of the people and Clergie of *Landidaff* and the Kings of the Britons (namely King *Riderch* that reigned at that time through all Wales, and *Hivel* the substitute of the King of *Glamorgan*) *Ioseph* was consecrated Bishop by *Alnod* Archbishop of Canterbury, at the word of *Cnut* King of England, in whose Court the Pastorall staffe was given unto him.

Here in Ireland much after the same manner, *M^r. Campion* himsele setteth down, that ^eto the Monarch was granted a negative in the nomination of Bishops at every vacation: the Clergie and Laity of the Diocesse recommending him to their King, the King to the Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury. although this last clause bee wrongly extended by him to the Bishops of the whole land, which properly belonged to the *Ostmann* strangers, that possessed the three cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford*, and *Limrick*. For these being a Colonie of the Norwegians and Livonians, and so country-men to the Normans, when they had scene England subdued by the Conquerour, and Normans advanced to the

¶ MXXII. anno
Incarnationis
Domini, conse-
cratus est Io-
seph episcopus
Landaviz,
Cantuariz à
metropolitano
Dorobornensis
ecclesiz Alnod
archiepiscopo,
in Calendis
Octobris, & in
primo (vel xvii.
potius) anno
Cycli decen-
novennalis,
verbo Regis
Anglorum
Cnut, & dato
sibi baculo in
Curia illius:
electione popu-
li & cleri Lan-
daviz, & Re-
gum Britanniz,
regis videlicet
Riderch reg-
nantis per to-
tam Gualiam
tunc tempore,
& Hivel subre-
guli regis Morcannuc infra hortum Taratir in Gui & hortum Tivi regnantis. Ibid. f. Edm.
Campion. Hystor. Hibern. lib. 3. cap. ult. ad annum 948. g. Girald. Cambry. Topograph. Hibern.
dist. ult. 3. cap. 43.

chiefe

chief archbishoprick there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of ^h Normans also, and cause their Bishops to receive their consecration from no other metropolitan but the Archbishop of Canterbury. And forasmuch as they were confined within the walls of their own cities: the Bishops which they made had no other diocesse to exercise their jurisdiction in, but onely the bare circuit of those cities. Whereupon we finde a Certificate made unto Pope Innocent the third in the year 1216. by the Archbishop of Tuam and his suffraganes; that ⁱ John Papiroon the Legate of the Church of Rome coming into Ireland, found that Dublin indeed had a Bishop, but such a one as did exercise his Episcopall office within the walls onely.

The first Bishop which they had in Dublin (as it appeareth by the Records of that Church) was one Donatus, or Dunanus, as others call him: upon whose death, in the year 1074. ^k Gothric their King, with the consent of the Clergie and people of Dublin, chose one Patrick for their Bishop, and directed him into England to bee consecrated by Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury: who sent him backe with commendatory ^l letters aswell to the said Gothric King of the Ostmans, as to Terdeluacus the chiefe King or Monarch of the Irish. Hereupon, after the decease of this Patrick, ^m in the year 1085. the same

Dublinensis Ecclesie populo & clero consentientibus & eligentibus, in Ecclesia sancti Pauli London. Patricium sacravit Antistitem: *Annal. Dublin. ad annum 1074.* ^l Habentur apud Baron. ann. 1089. num. 12. & 15. ^m Anno Dom. 1085. Lanfrancus Archiepiscopus Cantuar. ad regimen Dublinensis Ecclesie sacravit Donatum monasterii sui monachum in sede metropoli Cantuar. petentibus atque eligentibus cum Terdeluaco Hibernie rege, & episcopis Hibernie regionis, atque clero & populo prelatz civitatis. *Annal. Dublin.*

^h Eodem tempore Norwagenses sive Ostmanni, qui civitates Hibernie & maritima occupaverunt, Normanni vocati sunt. *Annal. Dublin. ad ann. 1095.* ⁱ Dominus Iohannes Papiroon legatus Romanæ Ecclesie veniens in Hiberniam, invenit Dublin Episcopum habentem, qui tantum intra muros Episcopale officium exercebat. *Testimon. Tuamensis archiepiscopi in Registro Dublin archiepiscopi. in nigra libro Ecclesie S. Trinitatis.* ^k Ad regimen Dublinensis Ecclesie Lanfrancus archiepiscopus Cantuar. petente Goderico rege,

Terdeluacus and the Bishops of Ireland joyned with the Clergie and people of Dublin, in the election of *Donatus*, one of *Lanfrances* owne Monkes in Canterbury: who was by him there also consecrated. Then when he dyed, in the year 1095. his nephew *Samuel*, a monke of St. Albans but borne in Ireland, was chosen Bishop in his place by *Murierdach* King of Ireland, and the Clergie and people of the Citie: by whose common decree he was also sent unto *Anselme* Archbishop of Canterbury for his consecration. Not long after, the *Waterfordians*, following the example of the *Dublinians*, erected a Bishoprick among themselves; and sent their new Bishop to Canterbury for his consecration. the manner of whose election the Clergie and people of *Waterford* in the letters which they wrote at that time unto *Anselme*, doeth thus intimate. ¶ We and our King *Murchertach*, and *Dofnald* the Bishop, and *Dermeth* our Captain the Kings brother, have made choice of this Priest *Malchus*, a monke of *Walkeline* Bishop of *Winchester*. the same man, without doubt, who was afterward promoted to the Bishopricke of *Lismore*; so much commended by *Bernard* in the life of *Malachias*.

The last Bishop of *Dublin* in the year 1122. was sent unto *Anselmes* next successor for his consecration: touching which I have seene this writ of King *Henry* the first, directed unto him:

Henricus Rex Anglia, Radulpho Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo salutem. Mandavit mihi Rex Hibernie per

n A Rege Hibernie, Murierdach nomine, necnon à clero & populo in Episcopatum pñus civitatis electus est; atq; ad Anselmum, iuxta morem antiquum, sacrandus cum communi decrero directus.

Edm. Hist.

Nor. lib. 2.

pag. 34.

o *Ibid.* pag. 36.

p Nos & Rex

noster Murchertachus, &

Episcopus Dof-

naldus, & Der-

meth Dux no-

ster frater Re-

gis, elegimus

hunc Presbyte-

rum Malchum,

Walkelini

Wintoniensis

Episcopi mona-

chum, nobis

sufficienssimè

cognitum, &c.

¶ *Per apud Græcos* xovδw, non est semper *Deuotissimè* dicitur, quoadmodum ad *Iliad.* 2. notatum est.

ab *Eustathio* (pag. 884 & 831. edit. *Romæ*.) sed aliquando respondet *πὸς αὐτὸν* 2. *πὸς οὐρανὸν* 3.

ita & xovδw Mando, apud *Latinos* media ætatis scriptores. ut apud *Vincetium*, ubi gratiā, lib. 30.

Specul. Historial. cap. 130. (humiliter ei mandaverunt.) & hoc in loca.

Breve suum, & Burgenses Dublinæ, quod elegerunt hunc Gregorium in Episcopum, & eum tibi mittunt consecrandum. Vnde tibi mando, ut petitioni eorum satisfaciens, ejus consecrationem sine dilatione expleas. Teste Ranulpho Cancellario apud Windesor.

Henry King of England, to Ralphe Archbishop of Canterbury, greeting. The King of Ireland hath intimated unto mee by his writ, and the Burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this Gregory for their Bishop, and send him unto you to be consecrated. Wherefore I wish you, that satisfying their request, you performe his consecration without delay. Witnesse Ranulph our Chancellour at Windesor.

All the Burgesses of Dublin likewise, and the whole assembly of the Clergie, directed their joint letters to the Archbishop of Canterburie the same time: wherein among other things they write thus. ¶ Know you for verity, that the Bishops of Ireland have great indignation toward us, and that Bishop most of all that dwelleth at Armagh: because we will not obey their ordination, but will alwaies bee under your governement. Whereby we may see, that as the *Ostmans* were desirous to sever themselves from the *Irish*, and to be esteemed *Normans* rather: so the Irish Bishops on the other side, howsoever they digested in some sort the recourse which they had to *Lanfranc* and *Anselme* (who were two of the most famous men in their times, and with whom they themselves were desirous to hold all good correspondence) yet could they not well brooke this continuation of their de-

q Sciatis vos revera, quod Episcopi Hibernie maximum zelum erga nos habent, & maxime ille Episcopus qui habitat Ardumachæ: quia nos nolumus obedire eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus.

MS. ad calcem Collectionis Iffordii Mercatoris, in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

pendance upon a Metropolitan of another kingdom; which they conceived to be somewhat derogatorie to the dignitie of their owne Primate. But this jealousie continued not long. for this same *Gregorie* being afterwards made *Archbishop* of *Dublin*, and the *Bishopricks* here settled by *Iohannes Paparo*: aswell they of *Dublin*, as the others of *Waterford* and *Limrick* (for they also had one *Patricke* consecrated *Bishop* unto them by *Theobald* *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*) did ever after that time cease to have any relation unto the *See* of *Canterbury*.

And now to goe forward : as the *Kings* and people of thisland in those elder times kept the nomination of their *Archbishops* and *Bishops* in their own hands, and depended not upon the *Popes* provisions that way : so doe wee not finde by any approved record of antiquitie, that any *Visitations* of the clergie were held here in the *Popes* name; much lesse that any *Indulgences* were sought for by our people at his hands. For, as for the *Charter* of *S. Patrick*, (by some intituled, *De antiquitate Avalonicâ*) wherein *Phaganus* and *Deruvianus* are said to have purchased ten or thirtie yeares of *Indulgences* from Pope *Eleutherius*; and *St. Patrick* himselfe to have procured twelve yeares in his time from Pope *Celestinus* : it might easily bee demonstrated (if this were a place for it) that it is a meere figment, devised by the Monkes of *Glastenbury*. Neyther doe I well know, what credit is to bee given unto that stragling sen-

r Charts S.

Patricii, in Guilielmi Malmesburienfis libello, de Antiquitate Glasstoniensis Ecclesie. MS.

f In scriptis recentioribus invenit, quod sancti Phaganus & Deruvianus perquisierant ab Eleuthero Papâ, qui eos miserat, X. (al. XXX.)

annos indulgentie. Et ego frater Patricius à piz memorie Celestino Papâ XII. annos tempore meo acquisivi. Ibid.

tence,

tence, which I finde ascribed unto the same authour.
 « If any questions doe arise in this Iland, let them bee referred to the See Apostolick. or that other decree, attributed to *Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus* and *Benignus*. » Whensoever any cause that is very difficult, and unknown unto all the Iudges of the Scottish nations, shall arise; it is rightly to bee referred to the See of the Archbishop of the Irish (to wit, *Patrick*) and to the examination of the Prelate thereof. But if there, by him and his wise men, a cause of this nature cannot easily be made up: wee have decreed, it shall bee sent to the See Apostolick; that is to say, to the chaire of the Apostle *Peter*, which hath the authoritie of the City of *Rome*. Onely this I will say, that as it is most likely, that *St. Patrick* had a speciall regard unto the Church of *Rome*, from whence he was sent for the conversion of this Iland: so if I my selfe had lived in his daies, for the resolution of a doubtful question I should as willingly have listened to the judgement of the Church of *Rome*, as to the determination of any Church in the whole world; so reverend an estimation have I of the integritie of that Church, as it stood in those good daies. But that *St. Patrick* was of opinion, that the Church of *Rome* was sure ever afterward to continue in that good estate, and that there was a perpetuall priviledge annexed unto that See, that it should never erre in judgement, or that the Popes sentences were alway to be held as infallible Oracles; that will I never beleieve:

Patricius auctores in hac insula oriuntur, ad sedem Apostolicam referantur. *Vet. Cod. lxx. Canonum, Biblique Constantianae.* cuius initium: Synodorum exemplariorum innumerositas. et conspicua. u Quaecunque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit, atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium iudicij; ad Cathedralam Archiepiscopi Hibernensium (id est, Patricij) atque huius antiquissimae examinationem recte referenda. Si vero in illa, cum suis sapientibus, facile sanari non poterit talis causa praedictae negotiationis; ad sedem Apostolicam decrevi-

mus esse mittendam; id est, ad Petri Apostoli Cathedralam, auctoritatem Romae Urbis habentem. Hi sunt qui de hoc decreverunt: id est, *Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus*. *Vet. Codex Ecclesiae Armachanae.*

sure I am, that my countrey-men after him were of a farre other beleefe; who were so farre from submitting themselves in this sort to whatsoever should proceed from the See of *Rome*, that they oftentimes stood out against it, when they had little cause so to doe. For prooffe whereof I need to seeke no further, than to those very allegations which have been lately urged for maintenance of the supremacie of the Pope and Church of *Rome* in this Countrey.

First, Mr. *Copping* commeth upon us, with this wise question. *Was not Ireland among other Countries absolved from the Pelagian heresie by the Church of Rome, as Cesar Baronius writeth?* then hee setteth downe the copie of *S. Gregories* y epistle, in answer unto the *Irish* Bishops that submitted themselves unto him. and concludeth in the end, that the Bishops of *Ireland* being infected with the Pelagian error, sought absolution first of *Pelagius* the Pope: but the same was not effectually done, untill *S. Gregory* did it. But in all this, hee doth nothing else but bewray his owne ignorance. For neyther can hee shew it in *Cesar Baronius* or in any other author whatsoever, that the *Irish* Bishops did ever seeke absolution from Pope *Pelagius*; or that the one had to deale in any businesse at all with the other. Neyther yet can hee shew that ever they had to doe with *Saint Gregory* in any matter that did concerne the *Pelagian* heresie. for these be dreames of *Coppingers* owne idle head. The epistle of *S. Gregory* dealeth onely with the controversie of the three chapters, which were condemned by the fifth generall Councell; whereof *Baronius* writeth thus.

a *Copping*.
Admonitory to
 the Catholics of
Ireland, lib. 2.
 cap. 3.
 y *Gregor*. lib. 2.
 epist. 38. l. 1. d. 1.
 20.

thus. * *All the Bishops that were in Ireland, with most earnest study, rose up jointly for the defence of the Three Chapters. And when they perceived that the Church of Rome did both receive the condemnation of the Three Chapters, and strengthen the fifth Synod with her consent: they departed from her, and cleave to the rest of the schismatickes, that were eyther in Italy, or in Africke, or in other countries, animated with that vaine confidence, that they did stand for the Catholicke faith, while they defended those things that were concluded in the Councell of Chalcedon. * And so much the more fixedly (saith he) did they cleave to their error, because whatsoever Italy did suffer by commotions of warre, by famine or pestilence, all these unhappy things they thought did therefore befall unto it, because it had undertaken to fight for the fifth Synod against the Councell of Chalcedon.*

Thus farre *Baronius*: out of whose narration this may bee collected, that the Bishops of Ireland did not take all the resolutions of the Church of Rome for undoubted oracles; but when they thought that they had better reason on their sides, they preferred the judgement of other Churches before it. Wherein how peremptory they were, when they wrote unto St. *Gregory* of the matter, may easily be perceived by these parcels of the answer, which hee returned unto their letters. *The first entry of your epistle*

z. Ardentissimo studio proptrium caput ulorum defensionem, junctis animis omnes qui in Hibernia erant Episcopi, insurrexere. Addiderunt & illud nefas, ut cum percepissent Romanam Ecclesiam & quæ suscepisset Trium damnationum capitulorum, atque suo consensu Quintam Synodum roborasset: ab eadem pariter resisterint, atque reliquis qui vel in Italia, vel in Africa, aliisque regionibus erant schismaticis inhaerent; fiduciam illam vanam erecti, quod pro fide Catholica starent, cum quæ essent in Concilio Chalcedonensi statuta

defenderent. *Baron. Annal. rom. 7. an. 566. num. 31.* a Sed eo fixius inhaerent errori, cum quæcumque Italia passa sit bellorum motibus, fame, vel pestilentia, ea ex causâ illi cuncta infausta accidisse putarent, quod pro Quintâ Synodo adversus Chalcedonense Concilium prælium suscepisset. *Ibid.* b Prima itaque epistolæ vestræ fons, gravem vos pati persecutionem innouit. Quæ quidem persecutio dum non rationabiliter iustificetur, nequaquam proficit ad salutem. *Gregor. Reges. lib. 2. epist. 36.*

hath

a Dum igitur ira sit, incongruum nimis est de ea vos, quam dicitis, persecutione gloriari, per quam vos constat ad æterna præmia minime provehi.

ibid.

d Quod autem scribitis, quia ex illo tempore inter alias provincias maxime flagellatur Italia; non hoc ad ejus debetis intorquere opprobrium: quoniam scriptum est; Quem diligit Dominus, castigat, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit.

ibid.

e Porro autem si post hujus libri lectionem in ea, quæ estis, volueritis deliberatione persistere; sine dubio non rationi oporcat, sed obstinationi vos dare monstratis. *ibid.*

distin. 4. cap. 144. Ab antiqua.

hath notified, that you suffer a grievous persecution: which persecution indeed, when it is not sustained for a reasonable cause, doth profit nothing unto salvation. and therefore it is very unfit, that you should glory of that persecution, as you call it, by which it is certaine you cannot be promoted to everlasting rewards. *a* And whereas you write, that since that time among other provinces Italy hath beene most afflicted; you ought not to object that unto it as a reproach: because it is written: Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every sonne that he receiveth. Then having spoken of the booke that Pope Pelagius did write of this controversie (which indeed was penned by Gregory himselfe) hee addeth. *e* If after the reading of this booke, you will persist in that deliberation, wherein now you are; without doubt you shew, that you give your selves to be ruled not by reason, but by obstinacie. By all which you may see, what credit is to be given unto the man, who would beare us in hand, that this epistle of St. Gregory was sent as an answer unto the Bishops of Ireland, that did submit themselves unto him: whereas (to say nothing of the *f* copies, wherein this epistle is noted to have beene written to the Bishops of Iberia, and not, in Hibernia) the least argument of any submission doth not appeare in any part of that epistle; but the whole course of it doth cleerly manifest the flat contrary.

In the next place steppeth forth *O'sullivan Beare*; who in his *Catholick history of Ireland*, would have us

ibid. *f* *Vid. Roman. Correll. in Gratian. De consecrat.*

take

take knowledge of this, that *When the Irish Doctors did not agree together upon great questions of Faith, or did heare of any new doctrine brought from abroad, they were wont to consult with the Bishop of Rome the Oracle of truth.* That they consulted with the Bishop of Rome, when difficult questions did arise, wee easily grant: but that they thought they were bound in conscience to stand to his judgement, whatsoever it should bee, and to entertaine all his resolutions as certaine *Oracles of truth*, is the point that wee would faine see proved. For this hee telleth us, that *when questions and disputations did arise here concerning the time of Easter and the Pelagian heresie, the Doctors of Ireland referred the matter unto the See Apostolicke.* Whereupon, the error of Pelagius is reported to have found no patron or maintainer in Ireland: and the common course of celebrating Easter was embraced both by the Northren Irish, and by the Picts and Britons, as soon as they understood the rite of the Romane Church. Which (saith hee) doth not obscurely appeare by the two heads of the Apostolicke letters, related by Bede, lib. 2. cap. 19.

But that those *Apostolick letters* (as he calleth them) had that successe which hee talketh of, appeareth neither plainly nor obscurely by Bede, or any other authority whatsoever. *The error of Pelagius*, saith

gli error nullum in Ibernâ patronum vel assertorem invenisse fertur; vel insulæ aditus interclusus, vel ab eâ protinus explosus, ubi contagiosam fæciem aperuiri, seseque cognoscendum præbuit: & ratio communis & ab Ecclesiâ usitata celebrandi redivivi Domini festum ab Australibus Ibernâ fuit semper observata; & à Septentrionalibus quoque & Pictis & Britonibus, qui Doctoribus Ibernâ fidem acceperunt, amplexa, ubi Ecclesiæ Romanæ ritum cognoverunt. Quod ex Apostolicarum literarum duplici capite à Bedâ relato non obscure constat. *fbid.*

he,

g Quando vero Doctores Ibernici de gravibus fidei questionibus minimè consensiebant, vel aliquid novi dogmatis per egrè allati audiebant; soliti erant Romanum Pontificem veritatis Oraculum consulere. Philip Osullean. *Be-ar. hist. Catholic. Ibern. tom. 1. lib. 4. cap. 8.*
h Namque do tempore agendi Paschatis solennia (de quâ alix quoque Catholicæ gentes sæpè ambegerunt) & de Pelagianâ hæresi ubi fuit in questionemque deducta; Doctores Ibernâ ad Sedem Apostolicam retulerunt. Ac ita miserî Pela-

he, is reported to have found no patron or maintainer in Ireland. But who is he that reporteth so, beside *Philip O'sullivan*? a worthy author to ground a report of antiquity upon: who in relating the matters that fell out in his owne time, discovereth himselfe to bee as egregious a liar, as any (I verily thinke) that this day breatheth in Christendome. The *Apostolicke letters* he speaketh of, were written (as before hath bin touched) in the yeere of our Lord DCXXXIX. during the vacancie of the Romane See, upon the death of *Severinus*. Our Countryman *Kilianus* repayed to Rome 47. yeeres after that, and was ordained Bishop there by Pope *Conon* in the yeere DCLXXXVI. The reason of his comming thither, is thus laid downe by *Egilwardus* or who ever else was the author of his life. ¹ For Ireland had beene of old defiled with the *Pelagian heresie*, and condemned by the *Apostolicall censure*, which could not bee loosed but by the *Romane judgement*. If this be true: then that is false which *O'sullivan* reporteth of the effect of his *Apostolicall Epistle*, that it did so presently quash the *Pelagian heresie*, as it durst not once peepe up within this Iland.

à Hibernia si-
quidem olim
Pelagianâ fœ-
data fuerat
hæresi, Aposto-
licaque censurâ
damnata, quæ
nisi Romano
iudicio solvi
non poterat.
Author antiqu.
Vit. Kilian.

CHAP. IX.

*Of the controversie which the Britons, Pietts, and Irish
maintained against the Church of Rome,
touching the celebration
of Easter.*

THe difference betwixt the *Romanes* and the *Irish*
in the celebration of *Easter*, consisted in this.
The

The *Romanes* kept the memoriall of our Lords resurrection upon that Sunday, which fell betwixt the xv. and the xx. day of the Moone (both termes included) next after the xx. day of March; which they accounted to be the seat of the *Vernal æquinoctium*, that is to say, that time of the Spring wherein the day and the night were of equall length. and in reckoning the age of the Moone they followed the *Alexandrian* cycle of xix. yeeres (whence our golden number had his originall) as it was explained unto them by *Dionysius Exiguus*: which is the account that is still observed, not onely in the Church of England, but also among all the Christians of Greece, Russia, Asia, Egypt, and *Æthiopia*; and was (since the time that I my selfe was borne) generally received in all Christendome, untill the late change of the Kalendar was made by Pope Gregory the xii. th. The Northren Irish and Scottish, together with the *Picts*, observed the custome of the Britons:

* keeping their *Easter* upon the Sunday that fell betwixt the xii. and the xx. day of the Moone; and following in their account thereof, not the xix. yeeres computation of *Anatolius*,^b but *Sulpicius Severus* his circle of lxxxii. yeeres. for howsoever they extolled *Anatolius*^c for appointing (as they supposed) the bounds of *Easter* betwixt the xii. and the xx. day of the Moone, yet *Wilfride* in the

a Non enim Paschæ diem Dominicum suo tempore, sed à decima-quarta usque ad vicesimam Lunam observabant. Quæ computario 84. annorum circulo continetur.

tur. Bede lib. 2. hist. cap. 2. b Porro isti secundum decennem novemque Anatolii computum, aut potius juxta Sulpicii Severini regulam, qui lxxxiv. annorum cursum descripsit, xiv. Lunæ cum ludæis Paschale sacramentum celebrant: cum neutrum ecclesiæ Romanæ Pontifices ad perfectam calculi rationem sequantur. Aldelm. epist. ad Geruntium regem & Dominios: inter epistolæ Bonifacii, num. 44. c Bede lib. 3. hist. cap. 2. & 25. Vid. Dionysii Petavii notæ in Epiphani. pag. 194. 195.

Synod

d Ad veram
Paschæ ratio-
nem nunquam
pervenire eos,
qui cyculum
LXXXIII. anno-
rum observant.
Cumman. epist.
ad Segunum
abbat. de Dispa-
tatione Lune.
MS. in Biblio-
thec. Cottonian.
e Exhortans
ne paucitatem
suam in extre-
mis terræ fini-
bus constitutis,
sapientiores
antiquis sive
modernis, quæ
per Orbem ter-
ræ erant, Chri-
sti Ecclesiis ex-
stimarent: ne-
ve contra Pas-
chales compu-
tos, & decreta
synodalia in to-
tius Orbis
Pontificum
aliud Pascha
celebrarent.
Bed. lib. 2. hist.
cap. 19.

Synod of Strensbal chargeth them utterly to have re-
jected his cycle of XIX. yeeres : from which there-
fore Cummanus draweth an argument against them ;
that *they can never come to the true account of Easter,*
who observe the cycle of LXXXIII. yeeres.

To reduce the *Irish* unto conformity with the
Church of *Rome* in this point, Pope *Honorius* (the
first of that name) directed his letters unto them :
e *Exhorting them, that they would not esteeme their own*
paucity, seated in the utmost borders of the earth, more
wise than the ancient or moderne Churches of Christ
through the whole world; and that they would not cele-
brate another Easter contrary to the Paschall computati-
ons, and the Synodall decrees of the Bishops of the whole
world. and shortly after, the Clergie of Rome (as wee
have said) upon the death of Severinus, wrote other
letters unto them to the same effect. Now where O-
sullivan avoucheth, that the common custome used by the
Church in celebrating the feast of the Lords resurrection
was alwaies observed by the Southerne Irish; and now
embraced also by the Northren, together with the Picts
and Britons (who received the faith from Irish Doctors)
when they had knowledge given them of the rite of the
Church of Rome : in all this (according to his com-
mon wont) he speaketh never a true word. For ney-
ther did the Southerne Irish alwayes observe the cele-
bration of Easter commonly received abroad : ney-
ther did the Northren Irish, nor the Picts, nor the Bri-
ttons, many yeeres after this admonition given by the
Church of Rome, admit that observation among
them. to speake nothing of his folly in saying, that
the Britons received the faith from the Irish : when
the

the contrary is so well knowne, that the *Irish* rather received the same from the * *Britons*.

* S. Patrick,
& his followers.

That the common custome of celebrating the time of *Easter* was not alwaies observed by the *Southerne Irish*, may appeare by those words of *Bede*, in the *third booke* of his history and the *third chapter*. *Porro gentes Scottorum, quæ in australibus Hiberniæ insulæ partibus morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem Apostolicæ sedis antistitis Paschæ canonicoritu observare didicerunt.* For if (as this place cleerly proveth) the nations of the Scots, that dwelt in the Southern parts of Ireland, did learne to observe *Easter* after the *canonicall manner*, upon the admonition of the *Bishop of Rome*: it is evident, that before that admonition they did observe it after another manner. The word *jamdudum*, which *Bede* here useth, is taken among authors oftentimes in contrary senses: either to signifie a great while since, or else, but lately, or erewhile. In the former sense it must bee here taken, if it have relation to the time wherein *Bede* did write his book: and in the latter also it may be taken, if it be referred to the time whereof he treateth, (which is the more likely opinion) namely to the coming of *Bishop Aidan* into *England*; which fell out about halfe a yeere, after that *Honorius* had sent his admonitorie letters to the *Irish*. who, as hee was the first *Bishop of Rome* we can reade of, that admonished them to reforme their rite of keeping the time of *Easter*: so that the *Irish* also much about the same time conformed themselves herein to the *Romane* usage, may thus be manifested.

When *Bishop Aidan* came into *England* from the *Iland Hy*, now called *T. Columkille*; the Colledge
of

f. Bed. lib. 3.
biff. cap. 5.

g 1d lib. 1.
cap. 19.

h Ego enim
primo anno
quo cyclos
DXXXII. anno-
rum à nostris
celebrari orsus
est; non susce-
pi, sed siliui, nec
laudare nec vi-
tuperare ausus.
Cumnian. epist.
ad Segenium.
i Sed non post
multum surre-
xit quidam pa-
ries dealbatus,
traditionem se-
niorem servare
se simulans;
qui utraque
non fecit unum
sed divisit, &
irritum ex par-
te fecit quod
promissum est:
quem Domi-
nus ut spero,
percutiet quo-
quo modo vo-
luerit. Ibid.

k Seniores verò, quos in velamine repulsionis habetis, quod optimum in diebus suis esse
noverunt simpliciter & fideliter sine culpa contradictionis ullius & animositatis observave-
runt, & suis posteris sic mandaverunt. Ibid.

of Monkes there was governed by *Segenius*, who in
the 6 inscription of the epistle of the clergie of Rome
sent unto the *Irish*, is called *Segianus*. Now there is
yet extant in Sir *Robert Cottons* worthy Librarie, an
epistle of *Cumnianus* directed to this *Segenius* (for so
is his name there written) Abbot of *T. Columkille* :
wherein he plainly declareth, that the great cycle of
DXXXII. yeeres, and the *Romane* use of celebrating
the time of *Easter* according to the same, was then
newly brought in into this country. ^a For the first
yeere (saith he) wherein the cycle of DXXXII. yeeres be-
gan to bee observed by our men; I received it not, but
held my peace, daring neither to commend it nor to dis-
praise it. That yeere being past, he saith he consul-
ted with his ancients; who were the successors of
Bishop Ailbeus, *Queranus Colonienfis*, *Brendinus*, *Nes-
sanus* and *Lugidus*. who being gathered together in
Campo-lene, concluded to celebrate *Easter* the yeere
following together with the universall Church.
^b But not long after (saith hee) there arose up a certaine
whited wall, pretending to keepe the tradition of the El-
ders; which did not make both one, but divided them,
and made voide in part that which was promised: whom
the Lord (as I hope) will smite, in whatsoever manner he
pleaseth.

To this argument drawne from the tradition of the
elders, hee maketh answer: that ^k they did simply and
faithfully observe that which they knew to bee best in
their dayes, without the fault of any contradiction or a-
nimosity, and did so recommend it to their posterity. and

opposeth

opposeth thereunto ⁿ the unanimous rule of the *Vni-*
versall Catholicke Church: deeming this to be a very
 harsh conclusion. ° *Rome erreth, Ierusalem erreth,*
Alexandria erreth, Antioch erreth, the whole world
erreth: the Scottish onely and the Britons doe alone hold
the right. but especially hee urgeth the authority of
 the first of these Patriarchicall Sees, which now
 (since the advancement thereof by the Emperour
Phocas) began to bee admired by the inhabitants of
 the earth, as the place which God had chosen; whereun-
 to, if greater causes did arise, recourse was to bee had, ac-
 cording to the Synodicall decree, as unto the head of ci-
 ties. and therefore he saith, that they sent some unto
Rome: who returning backe in the third yeere, infor-
 med them, that they met there with a *Grecian*, and
 an *Hebrew*, and a *Scythian*, and an *Egyptian* in one
 lodging; and that they all, and the whole world
 too, did keep their *Easter* at the same time, when the
Irish were dis-joynd from them by the space of a
 whole * moneth. † And wee have proved (saith *Cum-*
mianus) that the vertue of God was in the relicks of the
 holy Martyrs, and the Scriptures which they brought
 with them. For we saw with our eyes, a mayde altogether
 blinde opening her eyes at these relickes, and a man sicke
 of the palse walking, and many devils cast out. Thus
 farre he.

The *Northren Irish* and *Albanian Scottish* on the o-
 ther side, made little reckoning of the authority, ei-
 ther of the Bishop or of the Church of *Rome*. And

p. *Vidimus oculis nostris puellam cecam omnino ad has reliquias oculos*
paralyticum ambulantiem, & multa daemonia ejecta. Cummic.

aculis

H

therefore

n *Vniuersalis*
Ecclesie Catholice
unanimem regulam.

Ibid.

o *Roma errat,*
Hierosolyma
errat, Alexan-
dria errat, An-
tiocchia errat,
totus mundus
errat: soli tan-
tum Scoti &
Britones re-
ctum sapimus.
Ibid.

* This seemed
 to have fallen
 out, eith. r in the
 yeare 634. or
 645. wherein
 Easter was so
 lemmingd at
 Rome the 24. day
 of April. and it
 appeareth by our
 Annals, that
 Segenius was
 about of Y. Co-
 lumkille from
 the yeare 634.
 untill 652.

aperientem, &

q Intellexerat enim veraciter Oswi, quamvis educatus à Scottis, quia Romana esset Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia. Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 29.

» Sed cognoscetes Britones, Scottos meliores putavimus. Scottos verò per Dagannum Episcopum in hanc insulam, & Columbaum Abbatem in Gallias venientem, nihil discrepare à Britonibus, in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Dagannus episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quovecebamus, sumere voluit. Laurent. epist. apud Bed. lib. 2. cap. 4. f Qui cuius meriti fuerit, etiam miraculorum signis internus arbiter edocuit. Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 15. item 16. & 17.

therefore Bede, speaking of Oswy king of Northumberland, saith that notwithstanding he was brought up by the Scottish, yet he understood that the Roman was the Catholike and Apostolike Church (or, that the Roman Church was Catholike and Apostolike) intimating thereby, that the Scottish, among whom he received his education, were of another minde. And long before that, Laurentius, Mellitus and Iustus (who were sent into England by Pope Gregory to assist Austin) in a letter which they sent unto the Scots that did inhabit Ireland (so Bede writeth) complained of the distaste given unto them by their country-men, in this manner. *« Wee knew the Britons, wee thought that the Scots were better than they. But wee learned by Bishop Dagannus comming into this Island, and Abbot Columbanus comming into France, that the Scots did differ nothing from the Britons in their conversation. For Dagannus the Bishop comming unto us, would not take meate with us, no not so much as in the same lodging wherein we did eate.*

And as for miracles, wee finde them as rife among them that were opposite to the Roman tradition, as upon the other side. If you doubt it, reade what Bede hath written of Bishop Aidan (*who of what merit hee was, the inward Iudge hath taught, even by the tokens of miracles; saith hee*) and Adamnans of the life of S. Colme or Columbkille. Whereupon Bishop Colman in the Synod at Strenshal frameth this con-

clusion.

clusion. * Is it to be beleev'd, that Colme our most reverend father, and his successors, men beloved of God, which observed Easter in the same manner that wee doe, did hold or doe that which was contrary to the holy Scriptures? seeing there were very many among them, to whose heavenly holinesse the signes and miracles which they did, bare testimony: whom nothing doubting to bee Saints, I desist not to follow evermore their life, manners, and discipline. What Wilfride replied to this, may be scene in Bede: that which I much wonder at, among the many wonderfull things related of St. Colme by Adamnanus, is this. that where hee saith, that this Saint, during the time of his abode in the abbay of Clone (now called Clonmacnoish) did * by the revelation of the holy Ghost prophesie of that discord, which after many dayes arose among the Churches of Scotland (or Ireland) for the diversity of the feast of Easter: yet hee telleth us not, that the holy Ghost revealed unto him, that he himselfe (whose example animated his followers to stand more stiffely herein against the Romane rite) was in the wrong, and ought to conforme his judgment to the tradition of the Churches abroad. as if the holy Ghost did not much care, whether of both sides should carry the matter away in this controversie: for which (if you please) you shall heare a very pretty tale out of an old Legend, concerning this same discord whereof S. Colme is said to have prophesied.

* From a certaine time (saith my Author) there was a

fiat discordia. Adamnan. Vita Columb. lib. 1. cap. 3. x Quodam tempore erat magnum Concilium populorum Hibernie in Campo albo: inter quos erat contentio circa ordinē Pasche. Lactantius enim abbas monasterii Leighlinne, cui suberant mille quingenti monachi, novum ordinem defendebat qui auper de Roma venit: alii vero veterem defendebant. 74. Si Munna abbas MS.

t Nunquid reverendiſſimum patrem nostrum Columbanum, & successores ejus, viros Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo Pascha fecerunt, divinis paginis contraria sapuisse vel egisse credendum est? cum plurimi fuerint in eis, quorum sanctitati celestis signa & virtutem quæ fecerunt miracula, testimoniū præbuerunt: quos ut ipse sanctos esse non dubitans semper eorum vitam, mores & disciplinam sequi non desisto. Colman. apud Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 19. u Revelante Spiritu Sancto prophetavit de illis quæ post dies multi a obdiversitatem Pasche habiliſſe facta est inter Scotia Eccle-

great Councell of the people of Ireland in the white field : among whom there was contention about the order of Easter. For *Lafreanus*, the abbot of the monasterie of *Leighlin*, unto whom there were subject a thousand & five hundred monkes, defended the new order that lately came from Rome : but others defended the old. This *Lafreanus* or *Lazerianus* is the man, who in other Legends (of no other credit than this we now have in hand) is reported to have been the Bishop of *Romes* Legate in Ireland ; and is commonly accounted to have beene the first Bishop of the Church of *Leighlin*. His principall antagonist at this meeting was one *Munna*, founder of the monasterie which from him was called *Teach-munna*, that is, the house of *Munna* (in the Bishoprick of *Meath* :) who would needs bring this question to the same kinde of triall here, that *Austin* the monke is said to have done in *England*. In defence of the *Roman* order, *Bede* telleth us that *Austin* made this motion to the *Brittish* Bishops, for a finall conclusion of the businesse. ¶ Let us beseech God, which maketh men to dwell of one mind together in their fathers house, that hee will vouchsafe by some heavenly signes to make knowne unto us, what tradition is to be followed, and by what way wee may hasten to the entry of his kingdome. Let some sicke man be brought hither, and by whose prayers he shall bee cured, let his faith and working be beleev'd to be acceptable unto God, and to bee followed by all men.

Now *Munna*, who stood in defence of the order formerly used by the *Brittish* and *Irish*, maketh a more liberall proffer in this kinde, and leaveth *Laf-*

Obsecramus
Deum, qui ha-
bitate fecit u-
nanimis in do-
mo patris sui,
ut ipse nobis in-
firmis cele-
stibus signis
dignetur, quæ
sequenda tra-
ditione, quibus sit
vita ad ingres-
sum regni illius
procurandum.
Adducatur ali-
quis æger; &
per, cujus pro-
cer fuerit curatus,
huius fides & operatio Deo devota acque omnibus sequenda credatur.
Bed. lib. 2. hist. cap. 2.

reanus to his choyce. * Let us dispute briefly (saith he) but in the name of God let us give judgement. Three things are given to thy choyce, Lasreanus. Two bookes shall be cast into the fire, a booke of the old order and of the new; that we may see whether of them both shall be freed from the fire. Or let two Monkes, one of mine and another of thine, be shut up into one house: and let the house be burnt, and wee shall see which of them will escape untouched of the fire. Or let us goe unto the grave of a just Monke that is dead, and raise him up againe: and let him tell us, after what order wee ought to celebrate Easter this yeare. But Lasreanus being wiser than so, refused to put so great a matter to that hazzard: and therefore returned this grave answer unto Munna; it all be true that is in the Legend. * We will not goe unto thy judgement: because we know that, for the greatnesse of thy labour and holinesse, if thou shouldest bid that mount Marge should bee changed into the place of the White field, and the White field into the place of mount Marge; God would presently doe this for thy sake. So prodigall doe some make God to be of miracles, and in a manner carelesse how they should fall; as if in the dispensing of them, he did respect the gracing of persons rather than of causes.

In what yeare this Council of the White field was held, is not certainly knowne: nor yet whether S. Munna be that whited wall, of whom wee heard Cammianus complaine. The Synod of Strensshal (before mentioned) was assembled long after, at Whitby (called by the Saxons Streanesheale) in Yorkshire, the

Marge commutaretur in locum Campi albi & Campus albus in locum montis Marge; hoc propter ut Deus statim faceret. Ibid.

z Breviter disputemus: sed in nomine Domini agamus iudicium. Tres optiones dantur tibi, Lasreane. Duo libri in ignem mittentur, liber veteris ordinis & novus; ut videamus, quis eorum de igne liberabitur. Vel duo monachi, unus meus alter tuus, in unam domum recludentur, & domus comburatur: & videbimus, quis ex eis evadat intactus igne. Aut eamus ad sepulchrum mortui iusti monachi, & resuscitemus eum; & indicet nobis, quo ordine debemus hoc anno Pascha celebrare.

Vt S. Munna. a Non ibimus ad iudicium tuum, quoniam scimus quod, pro magnitudine laboris tui & sanctitatis, si diceretur ut mons

b Bed. lib. 3.
hij. cap. 26.

e Quodam tempore in diebus Colmanni Eboracæ civitatis episcopi metropolitani, regnantibus Oswi & Alhfrido filio eius, Abbates & Presbyteri omnesque Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ gradus simul in unum convenientes, in cenobio quæ Streane-shel dicitur; præsentem Simoniale matre piissimâ Hilde, præsentibus quoque Regibus & duobus Colmanno & Ægilberhto Episcopis, de Paschali ratione conquirebant, quid esset rectissimum. utrum more Brittonum & Scottorum omnisque Aquilonalis partis à xiiii. Lunâ Dominicâ die veniente usque ad xxii. (leg. xx.) Pascha agendum; an melius sit ratione Sedis Apostolicæ, à xv. Lunâ usque xxii. Paschalem Dominicam celebrandam. Tempus datum est Colmanno episcopo primum, ut dignum erat, audientibus cunctis reddere rationem. Ille autem intrepidâ mente respondens, dixit. Patres nostri & antecessores eorum manifestè Spiritu sancto inspirati, ut erat Columcille, xiiii. Lunâ die Dominicâ Pascha celebrandum sanxerunt; exemplum tenentes Iohannis Apostoli & Evangelistæ, qui supra pectus Domini in Cœnâ recubuit, & amator Domini dicebatur. Ille xiiii. Lunâ Pascha celebravit; & nos, sicut discipuli eius Polycarpus & alii, celebramus: nec hoc audemus pro patribus (scilicet. patribus) nostris, nec volumus mutare. Stephanus presbyter (qui & Æddi, apud Bedam, lib. 4. hij. cap. 2.) in Vita Wulfid, cap. 10. MS. in Bibliothecâ Sarisburiensi Ecclesiæ, & D. Roberti Cottoni.

year of our Lord DCLXIII. for the decision of the same question. Concerning which, in the life of Wilfrid (written by one Æddi an acquaintance of his, surnamed Stephen; at the commandement of Acca, who in the time of Bede was Bishop of Hangustald or Hexham, in Northumberland) we read thus. Upon a certaine time in the daies of Colman metropolitan Bishop of the citie of Yorke, Oswi and Alhfrid his sonne being Kings; the Abbots and Priests and all the degrees of Ecclesiasticall orders meeting together at the monastery which is called Streane-shel, in the presence of Hilde the most godly mother of that abbey, in presence also of the Kings and the two Bishops Colman and Aegelberht, inquiry was made touching the observation of Easter, what was most right to bee held: whether Easter should bee kept according to the custome of the Brittons and the Scots and all the Northren part, upon the Lords day that came from the xiiii. day of the Moone untill the xx. or whether it were better, that Easter Sunday should bee celebrated from the xv. day of the Moone untill the xxi. after the manner of the See Apostolick. Time was given unto Bishop Colman in the first place, as it was fit, to de-

liver

liver his reason in the audience of all. Who with an undaunted minde made his answer, and said. Our fathers and their predecessors, who were manifestly inspired by the holy Ghost, as Columkille was, did ordaine that Easter should be celebrated upon the Lords day that fell upon the XIIII. Moone; following the example of Iohn the Apostle and Evangelist, who leaned upon the breast of our Lord at his last Supper, and was called the lover of the Lord. Hee celebrated Easter upon the XIIII. day of the Moone: and wee with the same confidence celebrate the same, as his Disciples Polycarpus and others did; neyther dare wee for our parts, neyther will wee change this.

Bede relateth his speech thus. ^a This Easter which I use to observe, I received from my elders, who did send me Bishop hitber: which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are knowne to have celebrated after the same manner. Which that it may not seeme unto any to bee contemned and rejected: it is the same which the blessed Evangelist Iohn, the disciple specially beloved by our Lord, with all the Churches which he did oversee, is read to have celebrated. Fridegodus a who wrote the life of Wilfrid at the command of Odo Archbishop of Canterbury) expresseth the same Verse, after this manner.

** Nos seriem patriam, non frivola scripta tenemus,
Discipulo * eusebis Polycarpo dante Iohannis.
Ille etenim bis septena sub tempore Phæba
Sanctam præfixit nobis fore Pascha colendum,
Atque nefas dixit, si quis contraria sentit.*

On the contrary side Wilfrid objected unto Colman

bus quibus præerat Ecclesiis, celebrasse legitur. Colman apud Bedam, lib. 3. hist. cap. 23. • Fridegod. Vit. wilfrid. MS in Bibliothec. Cottonian. * i. Sancti vel Beati.

d Pascha hoc quod agere soleo, à maioribus meis accipere, qui me huc Episcopum miserunt: quod omnes patres nostri viri Deo dilecti eodem modo celebrasse noscuntur. Quod ne cui contemnendum & reprobandum esse videatur: ipsum est quod beatus Iohannes Evangelista, discipulus specialiter Domino dilectus, cum omni-

f Cum quibus
de duabus ulti-
mis Oceani
insulis, his non
totis, contra
rotum Orbem
stulto labore
pugnant. *Wil-
frid. apud Bed.
lib. 3. cap. 15.*
g Et si sanctus
erat aut potius
virtutibus ille
Columba
vester, imo &
noster si
Christi erat:
num præferri
potuit beatissi-
mo Apostolo-
rum principi?
cui Dominus
ait: Tu es Pe-
trus, & super
hanc petram
ædificabo
Ecclesiam meam,
& portæ inferi
non prævale-
bunt adversus
eam; Et tibi
dabo claves

and his Clerkes of Ireland; that they with their
complices, the *Pictes* and the *Brittons*, ^f out of the two
utmost Iles, and those not whole neyther, did with a foolish
labour fight against the whole world. & And if that Co-
lumb of yours (saith he) yea and ours also if hee were
Christ, was holy and powerfull in vertues: could hee bee
preferred before the most blessed Prince of the Apostles?
unto whom the Lord said: Thou art Peter, and upon this
rocke will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall
not prevaile against it; and I will give unto thee the keyes
of the kingdome of heaven. Which last words wrought
much upon the simplicitie of King *Oswy*; who fea-
red, that ^h when hee should come to the doores of the
kingdome of heaven, there would bee none to open, if hee
were displeased who was proved to keepe the keyes: but
prevailed nothing with Bishop *Colman*; who ⁱ for
the feare of his countrey (as *Stephen* in the life of *Wil-
frid* writeth) contemned the tonsure and the observation
of Easter used by the *Romanes*; and ^k taking with him
such as would follow him, that is to say, such as would not
receive the Catholike Easter and the tonsure of the crown
(for of that also there was then no small question) retur-
ned back againe into Scotland.

regni cœlorum. *Ibid.* h Nefortè me adveniente ad fores regni cœlorum, non sit qui re-
seret, averso illo qui claves tenere probatur. *Ibid.* i Tonsuram & Paschæ rationem pro-
pter timorem patriæ suæ contempsit. *Steph. presbyter, in Vit. Wilfrid. cap. 10.* k *Colman* vi-
dens spectatam suam doctrinam, sectamque esse despectam; assumptis his qui se sequi volue-
runt, id est, qui Pascha catholicum & tonsuram coronæ (nam & de hoc quæstio non minima
erat) recipere volebant, in Scotiam regressus est. *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 26. Vide etiam lib. 4. cap. 4.*

CHAP. X.

Of the height that the opposition betwixt the Romane party and that of the Brittish and Scottish grew unto; and the abatement thereof in time: and how the Doctors of the Scottish and Irish side have beene ever accounted most eminent men in the Catholike Church, notwithstanding their disunion from the Bishop of Rome.

IN Colmans roome Wilfrid was chosen Archbishop of Yorke: who had learned at Rome from Archdeacon Boniface, ^a the course of Easter, which the schismatics of Brittain and Ireland did not know (so goes the words of Stephen, the ancient writer of his life:) and afterward did brag, ^b that hee was the first which did teach the true Easter in Northumberland (having cast out the Scots) which did ordaine the Ecclesiasticall songs to bee parted on sides, and which did command S. Benets rule to be observed by Monkes. But when he was named to the Archbishopricke, ^c he refused it at the first (as William of Malmesbury relateth) lest he should receive his consecration from the Scottish Bishops, or from such as the Scots had ordained, whose communion the Apostolike See had rejected. The speech which he used to this purpose, unto the Kings that had chosen him, is thus laid downe by Stephen the writer of his

a Paschalem rationem, quam schismatici Britanniae & Hiberniae non cognoverunt; & alias multas Ecclesiasticae disciplinae regulas Bonifacius archidiaconus quasi proprio filio suo diligenter dictavit. Step. Presb. vii. Wilfrid. cap. 5. See also Bede, lib. 5. cap. 20. b Se primum fuisse, qui verum Pascha

in Northanimbria Scotis electis docuerit, qui cantus Ecclesiasticos antiphonarum instituerit, qui sanctissimi Benedicti regulam à monachis observari iusserit. Gulielm. Malmesbur. lib. 3. de gest. Pontific. Angl. c Sed persistit ille negare; ne ab Episcopis Scottis, vel ab iis quos Scotti ordinaverant, consecrationem susciperet, quorum communionem sedes aspernaretur Apostolica. *Id. ibid.*

life.

d O Domini
venerabiles
Reges; omni-
bus modis
nobis necessa-
rium est provi-
dè considerare,
quomodo cum
electione
vestra, sine
accusatione
catholicorum
virorum, ad
gradum Epi-
scopalem cum
Dei adiutorio
venire valeam.
Sunt enim hic
in Brytanniâ
multi episcopi,
quorum nullum
meum est accu-
sare, quamvis
veraciter sciam,
quod aut qua-
tuordecim anni
sunt, ut Bryto-
nes & Scotti ab
illis sunt ordi-
nati, quos nec
Apostolica se-
des in commu-
nionem rece-
pit, neque eos

life. ^d O my honourable Lords the Kings; it is necessary for us by all meanes providently to consider, how with your election I may (by the helpe of God) come to the degree of a Bishop, without the accusation of catholike men. For there be many Bishops here in Brittain, none of whom it is my part to accuse, ordained within these foure- teene yeares by the Brittons and Scots, whom neyther the See Apostolicke hath received into her communion, nor yet such as consent with the schismaticks. And there- fore in my humility I request of you, that you would send me with your warrant beyond the Sea, into the countrey of France, where many Catholike Bishops are to be had, that without any controversie of the Apostolike See I may be counted meet, though unworthy, to receive the degree of a Bishop.

While *Wilfrid protracted time beyond the Seas, King Oswy ledde by the advice of the *Quartadeci- mans* (so they injuriously nicknamed the *Brittish* and *Irish*, that did celebrate Easter from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moone) appointed ^e a most religious servant of God and an admirable Doctor that came from Ireland, named Ceadda, to be ordained Bishop of Yorke in his roome.

Constituunt etenim perverso canone Cæddam,

qui schismaticis consentiunt. Et ideo in mea humilitate à vobis posco, ut me mittatis cum vestro præsidio trans mare ad Galliarum regionem, ubi catholici episcopi multi habentur: ut sine controversiâ Apostolicæ sedis, licet indignus, gradum Episcopalem merear accipere. *Steph. Presb. Vit. wilfrid. cap. 12.* e Quo ultra mare moras nectente, Oswius Rex, præventus consiliis Quartadecimanorum (qui vocabantur ita, quia Pascha in quartadesima Lunâ cum Iudeis celebrabant) Cæddam virum sanctissimum, tamen contra regulas, intrusit tribunali Eboracensi. *Gulielm. Malmesb. lib. 3. de gest. Pontif. Angl.* f Ordinantes servum Dei religiosissimum & admirabilem Doctorem, de Hiberniâ insulâ venientem nomine Cæodda, adhuc eo ignorante, in sedem Episcopalem Euroicæ civitatis inodis contra canones constituerunt. *Steph. presb. Vit. wilfrid. cap. 14.*

Moribus

Moribus acclinem, doctrina robore fortem,

Præfulis eximij servare cubilia : sicque

Audacter vivo sponsam rapuere marito,

saith *Fridegodus*. This *Ceadda*, being the scholler of Bishop *Aidan*, was far otherwise affected to the *British* and *Irish* than *Wilfrid* was : and therefore was content to receive his ordination from *Wini* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, and two other *Brittish* Bishops that were of the *Quartadeciman* partie. For at that time (as *Bede* noteth) *there was not in all Brittain any Bishop canonically ordained* (that is to say, by such as were of the communion of the Church of *Rome*) except that *Wini* only.

But shortly after, the opposition betwixt these two sides grew to be so great, that our *Cuthbert* (Bishop of *Lindisfarne*) upon his death-bed required his followers, that they should ^b *hold no communion with them which did swerve from the unity of the Catholicke peace, eyther by not celebrating Easter in his due time, or by living perversly* : and that they should rather take up his bones and remove their place of habitation, than any way condescend to submit their neckes unto the yoke of *schismatickes*. For the further maintaining of which breach also, there were certaine decrees made both by the *Romanes*, and by the *Saxons* that were guided by their institution. One of the instructions that the *Romans* gave them, was this: *You must beware, that causes bee not referred to other*

g Ab illo est consecratus anrises, assumptis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Britonum gente Episcopis, qui Dominicum Pasche diem secus morem canonicum à xiiii. usque ad xxi. Lunam celebrant. Non enim erat tunc ullus, excepto illo Wini, in tota Britannia canonicè ordinatus episcopus. *Bede. lib. 2. hist. c. 28.*
h Cum illis autem qui ab unitate catholice pacis, vel Pascha non suo tempore celebrando, vel perversè vivendo aberrant, vobis

fit nulla communio, &c. *Id. in Vit. Cuthberti. cap. 39.* i *Fastidius dicit Rom.* Cavendum est ne ad alias provincias aut ecclesias referantur causæ, quæ alio more & aliâ religione utantur: sive ad Iudeos, qui umbræ legis magis quàm veritati deserviant; aut Britones, qui omnibus contrarii sunt, & à Romano more & ab unitate Ecclesiæ se absciderunt; aut Hæreticos, quamvis sint in Ecclesiasticis causis docti, & studiosi fuerint. *Ex Codice Canonum Cotoniano, sæculum 66.*

Provinces

Provinces or Churches, which use another manner and another religion: whether to the Iewes, which doe serve the shadow of the Law rather than the truth, or to the Britons, who are contrary unto all men, and have cut themselves off from the Romane manner, and the unitie of the Church; or to Heretickes, although they should bee learned in Ecclesiasticall causes, and well studied.

And among the decrees made by some of the Saxon Bishops (which were to bee seene in the Library of Sir Thomas Knewet in Northfolke, and are still, I suppose, preserved there by his heire) this is laid downe for one. ** Such as have received ordination from the Bishops of the Scots or Brittaines, who in the matter of Easter and Tonsure are not united unto the Catholicke Church, let them bee againe by imposition of hands confirmed by a Catholicke Bishop. In like manner also let the Churches that have beene ordered by those Bishops, be sprinkled with exorcized water, and confirmed with some service. Wee have no licence also to give unto them Chrisme or the Eucharist, when they require it; unlesse they doe first professe, that they will remaine with us in the unity of the Church. And such likewise as eyther of their nation, or of any other, shall doubt of their baptism, let them be baptized.* Thus did they.

On the other side, how averse the *Brittish* and the *Irish* were from having any communion with those of the *Romane* party, the¹ complaint of *Laurentius*, *Mellitus*, and *Iustus* before specified, doth sufficiently manifest. And the answer is well knowne, which

k Qui ordinati sunt à Scottorum vel Britannorum Episcopis, qui in Paschâ vel Tonsurâ Catholicæ non sunt adunati Ecclesiæ; iterum à Catholico Episcopo manus impositione confirmantur Similiter & Ecclesiæ quæ ab illis Episcopis ordinantur, aquâ exorcizatâ aspergantur, & aliquâ collectione confirmantur. Licentiam quoque non habemus eis poscentibus

Chrismam vel Eucharistiam dare, ni antè confessi fuerint velle se nobiscum esse in unitate Ecclesiæ. Et qui ex horum similiter gente, vel quacunque, de baptismo suo dubitaverint, baptizentur. Decret. Pontific. MS. cap. 9. De communicatione Scottorum & Brittonum, qui in Paschâ & Tonsurâ catholici non sunt. I Bedlib. hist. cap. 4.

** the*

* the seven Brittish Bishops, and many other most learned men of the same nation, did return unto the propositions made unto them by *Austin* the Monk (who was sent unto their parts with authority from Rome :) that ^{they would perform none of them, nor at all admit him for their Archbishop.} The Welch Chroniclers do further relate, that *Dinot* the Abbot of *Bangor* produced diverse arguments at that time, to shew that they did owe him no subjection : and this among others. ^{Wee are under the government of the Bishop of Kaer-leon upon Vske, who under God is to oversee us, and cause us to keepe the way spirituall.} and *Gotcelinus Bertinianus* in the life of *Austin* : ^{that for the authority of their ceremonies they did alledge, that they were not onely delivered unto them by Saint Eleutherius the Pope their first instructor at the first insancie almost of the Church, but also hitherto observed by their holy fathers who were the friends of God and followers of the Apostles :} and therefore they ought not to change them for any new dogmatists. But above all others, the Brittish Priests that dwelt in *West-wales* abhorred the communion of these new dogmatists above all measure : as *Aldhelme* Abbot of *Malmesbury* declareth at large in his Epistle sent to *Geruntius* King of *Cornwall*. where among many other particulars hee sheweth, that ^{if any of the Catholices (for so he calleth those}

Septem Brittonum Episcopi, & plures viri doctissimi, maxime de nobilissimo eorum monasterio, quod vocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg, cui Dinot abbas praefuisse narratur. Bed. lib. 2. cap. 2. n. Illi nihil horum se facturos, neque illum pro Archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant. Ibid. Tam ipsam quam ejus statuta, statim reversi preverunt: nec ipsum pro Archiepiscopo se habituros publice proclamabant. Girald. Cambren. Itinerar. Cambriae, lib. 2. cap. 1. n. In a Welsh Manuscript, sometimes being unto

P. Mostin Gentleman. o Auctorizabant suas ceremonias non solum à sancto Eleutherio Papà primo institutore suo ab ipsa penè infancie Ecclesie dicatas, verum à sanctis patribus suis Dei amicis & Apostolorum sequacibus haecendè observatas: quas non deberent mutare propter novos dogmatistas. Gotcelin. monachus, in vita Augustini, cap. 32. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana. p. Si quilibet de nostris, id est, Catholicis ad eos habitandi gratià perrexerint, non prius ad consortium sodalitaris suae adsciscere dignentur, quam quadraginta dierum spatia in poenitendo peragere compellantur. Aldhelm. epist. ad Dunmonium.

of

q Quippe
eum uique
hodie moris sit
Britonum, fidē
religionemq;
Anglorum pro
nihil habere,
neque in ali-
quo eis magis
communicare
quā pagani.
Bed. lib. 3. cap. 10.

of his owne side) did goe to dwell among them; they would not vouchsafe to admit them unto their company and society, before they first put them to forty dayes penance. Yea, & even to this day (saith Bede, who wrote his history in the yeere DCCXXXI.) it is the manner of the Brittons, to hold the faith and the religion of the English in no account at all, nor to communicate with them in any thing more than with Pagans.

Whereunto those Verses of *Talieffyn* (honoured by the Britons with the title of *Ben Beirdd*, that is, the chiefe of the Bards or Wisemen) may bee added: (which shew, that hee wrote after the coming of *Austin* into England, and not 50. or 60. yeeres before, as others have imagined.)

* *Chronicle of
Wales, pag. 254.*

* Gwae'r offeiriad byd
Nys engreiffia gwyd

Ac ny phregetha:

Gwae ny cheidw ey gail

Acef yn vigail,

Ac nys areilia:

Gwae ny cheidw ey dheuaid

Rhac bleidhie, Rhufeniaid

A'iffon gnwppa.

Wo be to that Priest yborne,

That will not cleanly weed his corne

And preach his charge among:

Wo be to that shepheard (I say)

That will not watch his fold alway,

As to his office doth belong:

Wo

Wo be to him that doth not keepe
From Romish wolves his sheepe
With staffe and weapon strong.

As also those others of *Mantuan*; which shew that some tooke the boldnesse to taxe the Romans of *folly*, *impudencie*, and *stolidity*, for standing so much upon matters of humane institution, that for the not admitting of them they would breake peace there, where the Law of God and the Doctrine first delivered by Christ and his Apostles was safely kept and maintained.

*Adde quod & patres ausi taxare Latinos;
Causabantur eos stultè, imprudenter, & a quo
Durius, ad ritum Roma voluisse Britannos
Cogere, & antiquum tam precipitanter amorem
Tam stolidò temerasse ausu. Concedere Roma
Debuit, aiebant, potius quàm rumpere pacem
Humani quæ juris erant; modo salva maneret
Lex divina, fides, Christi doctrina, Senatus
Quam primus tulit ore suo; quia tradita ab ipso
Christo erat, humane doctore & lumine vite.*

*r Baptis. Man-
tuan. Fagius.
lib. 1.*

By all that hath been said, the vanity of *Ossullivan* may be scene, who feigneth the *Northren Irish*, together with the *Picts* and the *Britons*, to have beene so obsequious unto the Bishop of *Rome*, that they reformed the celebration of *Easter* by them formerly used, as soone as they understood what the rite of the *Romane Church* was. Whereas it is knowne, that after the declaration thereof made by Pope *Honorius* and the Clergie of *Rome*, the *Northren Irish* were nothing moved therewith, but continued still their
owne

f Quod autem
Pascha non suo
tempore obser-
vabat, vel cano-
nicum ejus
tempus igno-
rans, vel suæ
gentis auctori-
tate, ne agni-
tum sequeretur,
devictus;
non approbo
nec laudo. *Bede*
lib. 3. hist. cap. 17.
t More suæ
gentis. *Ibid.*
cap. 3.
u Pascha con-
tra morem eo-
rum qui ipsum
miserant, facere
non potuit.
Ibid. cap. 25.
x *Id. ibid.*

y Colmanus
qui de Scotiâ
erat Episcopus,
relinquens Bri-
tanniam, tulit
secum omnes
quos in Lindis-
farorum insulâ
congregaverat
Scotos. *Bede*
lib. 4. cap. 4.
z Optione da-
tâ, maluerunt
loco cedere,
quàm Pascha catholicum, ceterosque ritus
canonicos juxta Romanæ & Apostolicæ Eccle-
siæ consuetudinem recipere. *Id. lib. 5. cap. 10.* See also *lib. 3. cap. 25.* where *Hampden* is as-
signed for *Hripud.*

owne tradition. And therefore *Bede* findeth no other
excuse for Bishop *Aidan* herein; but that 'eyther hee
was ignorant of the canonical time, or if he knew it, that
he was so overcome with the authority of his owne nation,
that he did not follow it: that he did it, ' after the man-
ner of his owne nation; and that ' hee could not keepe
Easter contrary to the custome of them which had sent
him. His successor *Finan* * contended more fiercely
in the businesse with *Ronan* his countryman; and de-
clared himsefse an open adversary to the *Romane* rite.
Colman that succeeded him, did tread just in his
steps: so farre, that being put downe in the Synod
of *Streanshal*, yet for feare of his country (as before we
have heard out of *Stephen*, the writer of the life of
Wilfrid) he refused to conforme himsefse; and chose
rather to forgoe his Bishoprick, than to submit him-
sefse unto the *Romane* lawes,

*Colmanusque suas inglorius abjicit arces,
Malens Ausonias victus dissolvere leges:*

saith *Fridegodus*. Neither did hee goe away alone:
but ' tooke with him all his countrymen that he had
gathered together in *Lindisfarne* or *Holy Island*: the
Scottish monks also that were at *Rippon* (in *Yorkshire*)
* making choice rather to quit their place, than to
admit the observation of *Easter* and the rest of the
rites according to the custome of the Church of
Rome. And so did the matter rest among the *Irish*
about forty yeeres after that: untill their own coun-
tryman * *Adamnanus* perswaded most of them to

Ibid. cap. 16. & 22.

yeeld

yeeld to the custome received herein by all the Churches abroad.

The *Picts* did the like not long after, under King *Naitan*: who^b by his regall authority commanded *Easter* to be observed thorough all his provinces according to the cycle of XIX. yeeres (abolishing the erroneous period of LXXXIIII. yeeres which before they used) and caused all Priests and Monkes to bee shorne crowne-wise, after the *Romane* manner. The monkes also of the Iland of *Hy* or *I-Columkille*,^c by the perswasion of *Egbert* (an *English* Priest, that had been bred in *Ireland*) in the yeere of our Lord DCCXVI. forsooke the observation of *Easter* and the *Tonsure* which they had received from *Columkille* a hundred and fiftie yeeres before, and followed the *Romane* rite; about LXXX. yeeres after the time of Pope *Honorius*, and the sending of Bishop *Aidan* from thence into *England*. The *Britons* in the time of^d *Bede* retained still their old usage: untill^e *Elbodus* (who was the chiefe Bishop of *North-wales*; and dyed in the yeere of our Lord DCCCIX. as *Caradoc* of *Lhancarvan* recordeth) brought in the *Romane* observation of *Easter*, which is the cause, why^f his disciple *Nennius*, designeth the time wherein he wrote his history, by the character of the XIX. yeeres cycle, and not of the other of LXXXIV. But howsoever *North-wales* did; it is very probable that *West-wales* (which of all other parts

b Nec mora, quæ dixerat, regis auctoritate perfecit. Statim namq; iussu publico mittebantur ad transcribendum, discendum, observandum per universas Pictorum provincias circuli Paschæ decennovenariæ, obliteratis per omnia erroris octoginta & quatuor annorum circulis. Attendebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi.
c. Ibid. ca. 22.
c. Id. lib. 3. ca. 4.
d. lib. 5. cap. 23.
d. Id. lib. 5. cap. 23. & 24.
e. See the Chronicle of Wales, pag. 17. 18. and *Henry's* *Lloyd's* fragment.

tan, Descrip. fol. 55. b.

f Ego Nennius sancti Elbodi discipulus, aliquæ excerpta scribere curavi. Nem. MS. in publicâ Cantabrigiæ academ. Bibliothecâ, ubi alia exemplaria habet: Ego Nennius (vel Ninnius) Elvoduigi discipulus.

g Ab advenu Patricii in jam dictam insulam (Hiberniam scilicet) usque ad cycum decennovenariæ in quo sumus, 22. sunt cyci, id est, 421. & sunt duo anni in Ogdoadæ usque in hunc annum. 26.

was most eagerly bent against the traditions of the *Romane Church*) stood out yet longer. For we finde in the *Greeke* writers of the life of *Chrysostome*, that certaine *Clergie men* which dwelt in the *Iles* of the *Ocean*, repaired from the utmost borders of the habitable world unto *Constantinople*, in the dayes of *Methodius* (who was Patriarch there, from the yeer DCCCXLII. to the yeere DCCCXLVII.) to enquire of ^h certaine Ecclesiasticall traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of *Easter*. Whereby it appeareth, that these questions were kept still a foot in these *Ilands*, and that the resolution of the Bishop of *Constantinople* was sought for from hence, as well as the determination of the Bishop of *Rome*, who is now made the only Oracle of the world.

Neither is it here to be omitted, that whatsoever broyles did passe betwixt our *Irish* that were not subject to the See of *Rome*, and those others that were of the *Romane* communion: in the succeeding ages, they of the one side were esteemed to be *Saints*, as well as they of the other; *Aidan* for example and *Finian*, who were counted ringleaders of the *Quarta-deciman* party, as well as *Wilfrid* and *Cuthbert*, who were so violent against it. Yet now adayes men are made to beleieve, that out of the communion of the Church of *Rome* nothing but Hell can bee looked for; and that subjection to the Bishop of *Rome*, as to the visible Head of the *Univerfall Church*, is required as a matter necessary to salvation. Which if it may goe currant for good Divinity: the case is like to goe hard, not onely with the ^h twelve hundred Brittain

h. *Ertes* *πρω*
εακλ *νοστων*
πρεσβυτερων
πρωτων *τι* *ου*
πρωτων *ε*
εακλ *νοστων*
αδ *λαμ* *Τομ* *8*
Chrysostedit
Men *Savil*
pag *322* *6* *8*
in *Notis*, *col*
966 *y*.

Brittish Monkes of *Bangor*, who were martyred in one day by *Edelfride* king of *Northumberland* (whom our *Annals* style by the name of * the Saints ;) but also with *St. Aidan* and *St. Finan*, who deserve to be honoured by the *English* nation with as venerable a remembrance, as (I doe not say, *Wilfrid* and *Cuthbert* ; but) *Austin* the Monke and his followers. For by the ministry of *Aidan* was the kingdome of *Northumberland* recovered from paganisme: (whereunto belonged then, beside the shire of *Northumberland* and the lands beyond it unto *Edenborough*, *Frith*, *Cumberland* also and *Westmoreland*, *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, and the *Bishopricke* of *Durham* :) and by the meanes of *Finan*, not onely the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons* (which conained *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and halfe of *Hertfordshire*) regained; but also the large Kingdome of *Mercia* converted first unto Christianity ; which comprehended under it, *Glocestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Darbyshire*, *Shropshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Cheshire*, and the other halfe of *Hertfordshire*.

The *Scottish* that professed no subjection to the Church of *Rome*, were they, that sent preachers for the conversion of these countries ; and ordained Bishops to governe them : namely, * *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman* successively for the kingdome of *Northumberland* ; * for the *East-Saxons* ; *Cedd* brother to *Ceadda* the Bishop of *Terke* before mentioned ; * for

k Ann. Dom.
612. (vel 613.)
Bellum Caice-
legion, ubi
Sancti occisi
sunt. Annal.
V. l. 10. 115.
I Red. lib. 3. big.
cap. 3. & 4.

in Ibid. cap. 21.

22. 24.

25. 26.

27. 28.

29. 30.

31. 32.

33. 34.

35. 36.

37. 38.

39. 40.

41. 42.

43. 44.

45. 46.

47. 48.

49. 50.

51. 52.

53. 54.

55. 56.

57. 58.

59. 60.

61. 62.

63. 64.

65. 66.

67. 68.

69. 70.

71. 72.

73. 74.

75. 76.

77. 78.

79. 80.

q Paucitas enim Sacerdotum cogebat unum antistitem duobus populis præfici. *Ibid. cap. 21.*
 r *Ibid. cap. 3. 4.*
 s. 17. 26.

f Et si Pascha contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant, facere non possunt; operam tamen fidei, pietatis & dilectionis, juxta morem omnibus sanctis consuetum diligenter æsequi curavit. Unde ab omnibus etiam his qui de Pascha aliter sentiebant, merito diligebatur: nec solum à medicis, verum à ab ipsis quoque episcopis, Honorio Capuæ, foron & Felice Orientalium Anglorum, venerationi habitis est. *Thid. cap. 15.*

the Middle-Angles (which inhabited Leicestershire) and the Mercians, Diunia (for the paucity of Priests, saith Bede, constrained one Bishop to be appointed over two people) and after him Cellach and Trumhere. And these with their followers, notwithstanding their division from the See of Rome, were for their extraordinary sanctity of life and painfulness in preaching the Gospel (wherein they went farre beyond those of the other side, that afterward thrust them out and entred in upon their labours) exceedingly revered by all that knew them: Aidan especially, who although hee could not keepe Easter (saith Bede) contrary to the manner of them which had sent him; yet he was carefull diligently to performe the workes of faith and godlinesse, and love; according to the manner used by all holy men. Wherupon hee was worthily beloved of all, even of them also who thought otherwise of Easter than he did: and was had in reverence not only by them that were of meaner ranke, but also by the Bishops themselves, Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of the East-Angles. Neither did Honorius and Felix any other way carry themselves herein, than their predecessors Laurentius, Mellitus & Iustus had done before them: who writing unto the Bishops of Ireland, that dis-sented from the Church of Rome in the celebration of Easter and many other things, made no scruple to prefixe this loving and respectfull superscription to their letters. *To our Lords and in our deare brethren,*

*we sende you the kindest greeting of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the King of the world. Dominus charissimis fratribus, Episcopis vel Abbatibus per universam Scotiam, Laurentius, Mellitus, & Iustus Episcopi, Christi servorum Dei. *Ibid. cap. 4.**

the Bishops or Abbots throughout all Scotland; Laurentius, Mellitus and Iustus Bishops, the servants of the servants of God. For howsoever Ireland at that time

received not the same lawes wherewith other nations were governed: yet it so flourished in the vigour of Christian doctrine, (as Abbot Ionas testifieth) that it exceeded the faith of all the neighbour nations, and in that respect was generally had in honour by them.

florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem præpollet. Ion. Vit. Columban. cap. 1.

*u Gens quam
quam absque
reliquarum
gentium legi-
bus; tamen in
Christiani vi-
goris dogmate*

CHAP. XI.

Of the temporall power, which the Popes followers would directly intitle him unto over the Kingdome of Ireland: together with the indirect power which he chal- lengeth in absoluing subjects from the obedience which they owe to their temporall Governours.

IT now remaineth that in the last place wee should consider the Popes power in disposing the tempo- rall state of this Kingdome: which eyther directly or indirectly, by hooke or by crooke, this grand Usurper would draw unto himselfe. First therefore Cardinall Allen would have us to know, that *the Sea A-* *e Allen. An-*
postolike hath an old claime unto the soveraigntie of the *swor to the Exa-*
countrey of Ireland; and that before the Covenants pas- *cution of Iustice*
sed betweene King Iohn and the same Sea. Which chal- *in England.*
lenges (saith he) Princes commonly yeeld not up, by what *pag. 140.*
ground soever they come. What Princes use to yeeld
or not yeeld, I leave to the scanning of those, unto
whom Princes matters doe belong: for the Cardi-

nals Prince I dare be bold to say, that if it bee not his use to play fast and loose with other Princes, the matter is not now to doe; whatsoever right he could pretend to the temporall state of Ireland, hee hath transferred it (more than once) unto the Kings of England. and when the ground of his claime shall be looked into; it will bee found so frivolous and so ridiculous, that we need not care three chippes, whether he yeeld it up or keep it to himselfe. For whatsoever become of his idle challenges: the Crowne of England hath otherwise obtained an undoubted right unto the soveraigntie of this countrey; partly by Conquest, prosecuted at first upon occasion of a Sociall warre, partly by the severall *submissions* of the chieftaines of the land made afterwards. For ^d *wher.*

ad Cōm juri
suo renuntiare
liberum fit cui-
libet (quan-
quam subjeti-
onis cuiuslibet
hactenus im-
munes) his ta-
men hodiē no-
stris diebus,
Anglorum Ro-
gi Henrico se-
cundo omnes
Hiberniæ prin-
cipes firmis
fidei sacramen-
tisque vinculis
se ipso sub-
miserunt. Gi-
rald. Cambrensis.
Hibern. ex pug-
nat. lib. 2. cap. 7. & Ind. 11. 26. &
de Roman. Pontif. lib. 3. cap. 9. in fine.

as it is free for all men, although they have been formerly quitted from all subjection, to renounce their owne right: yet now in these our daies (saith Giraldus Cambrensis, in his historie of the Conquest of Ireland) all the Princes of Ireland did voluntarily submit, and binde themselves with firme bonds of faith and oath, unto Henry the second King of England. The like might be said of the generall submissions made in the dayes of King Richard the second and King Henry the eighth: to speake nothing of the prescription of divers hundreds of yeares possession; which was the plea that ^e Iephse used to the Ammonites, and is indeed the best evidence that the Bishop of Romes own ^f Proctors do produce for their Masters right to Rome it selfe.

Gerhard. Chronograph. lib. 3. in Sylvest. I. Bellarmini.

For

For the Popes direct dominion over Ireland; two titles are brought forth; beside those covenants of King John (mentioned by Allen) which hee that hath any understanding in our state, knoweth to be clearly voide and worth nothing. The one is taken from a speciall grant supposed to bee made by the inhabitants of the countrey, at the time of their first conversion unto Christianitie: the other from a right which the Pope challengeth unto himselfe over all Ilands in generall. The former of these was devised of late by an Italian, in the reigne of King Henry the eighth; the later was found out in the daies of King Henry the second: before whose time not one foote-step doth appeare in all antiquitie of any claime that the Bishop of Rome should make to the dominion of Ireland; no not in the Popes owne records, which have beene curiously searched by *Nicolaus Arragonius*, and other ministers of his, who have purposefully written of the particulars of his temporall estate. The Italian of whom I spake, is *Polydore Vergil*; he that composed the booke *De inventoribus rerum*, of the first Inventers of things: among whom hee himselfe may challenge a place for this invention; if the Inventers of lyes bee admitted to have any roome in that companie. This man being sent over by the Pope into England for the collecting of his *Petrepence*, undertooke the writing of the historie of that nation, wherein he forgot not by the way to doe the best service hee could to his Lord that had employed him thither. There hee telleth an idle tale; how the Irish being moved to accept Henry the second for

g Insulas omnes
sibi specialiter
quodam iure
vendicare.
Girald. Camb.
Hibern. expugn.
lib. 1. cap. 3.

h Nos hanc ad
lim quod ducunt
aliqui per am-
nos gestimus;
eiusque mun-
ris obcundi
causa, primam
in Angliam ve-
nimus. *Polydore
Vergil. Anglie
historia lib. 4.*

1 Id Hiberni
posse fieri, nisi
autoritate Ro-
mani Pontifi-
cis negabant;
quod iam inde
ab initio, post
Christianam
religionem ac-
ceptam, se ac
omnia sua in
eius ditionem
deditissent:
atque constan-
ter affirma-
bant, non alium
habere se Do-
minum, præter
ipsum Pontifi-
cem: id quod
etiam nunc ia-
citant. *Id. lib.*
13. eiusd. hist.
k Camp. History
of Ireland lib. 2.
cap. 1.

1 Hiberni ini-
tio statim post
Christianam
religionem ac-
ceptam, se suaq;
omnia in Pon-
tificis Romani
ditionem dede-
rant; nec
quenquam ali-
um supremum
Hiberniæ
Principem ad
illud usque
tempus præter
nomen Roma-
num Pontificem agnoverunt. *Sander. de schism. Anglican. lib. 1. ad ann. 1542.*

their King, ¹ did deny that this could be done otherwise than by the Bishop of Romes authoritie: because (forsooth) that from the very beginning, after they had accepted Christian Religion, they had yeilded themselves and all that they had into his power. and they did constantly affirme (saith this fabler) that they had no other Lord, beside the Pope: of which also they yet doe bragge.

The Italian is followed herein by two Englishmen, that wished the Popes advancement as much as hee; Edmund Campian and Nicholas Sanders. the one whereof writeth, that ² immediately after Christi-
tæ planted here, the whole Iland with one consent gave themselves not onely into the spirituall, but also into the temporall Iurisdiction of the See of Rome. the other in Polydore owne words (though hee name him not) that ¹ the Irish from the beginning, presently after they had received Christian Religion, gave up themselves and all that they had into the power of the Bishop of Rome; and that untill the time of King Henry the second, they did acknowledge no other supreme Prince of Ireland, beside the Bishop of Rome alone. For confutation of which dreame, we need not have recourse to our owne Chronicles: the Bull of Adrian the fourth, wherein hee giveth libertie to King Henry the second to enter upon Ireland, sufficiently discovereth the vanitie thereof. For, hee there shewing what right the Church of Rome pretended unto Ireland, maketh no mention at all of this (which had beene the fairest and clearest title that could bee alledged, if any such had been then existent in rerum natura) but is faine to

lie unto a farre-fetcht interest which hee saith the Church of *Rome* hath unto all Christian Ilands.

“ Truly (saith he to the King) *there is no doubt, but that all Ilands unto which Christ the Sunne of Righteousnesse hath shined, and which have received the instructions of the Christian faith, doe pertaine to the right of Saint Peter and the holy Church of Rome: which your Noblenesse also doth acknowledge.*

If you would further understand the ground of this strange claime, whereby all Christian Ilands at a clap are challenged to bee parcell of *St. Peters* patri-
monie: you shall have it from *Iohannes Sarisburiensis*, who was most inward with Pope *Adrian*, and obtained from him this very grant whereof now wee are speaking. “ At my request (saith he) he granted *Ireland* to the illustrious King of England *Henry the second*, and gave it to bee possessed by right of inheritance: as his owne letters doe testifie unto this day. For all Ilands, of ancient right, are said to belong to the Church of *Rome*, by the donation of *Constantine*, who founded & endowed the same. But will you see, what a goodly title here is, in the meane time? First, the Donation of *Constantine* hath been long since discovered to be a notorious forgerie, and is rejected by all men of judgment as a senselesse fiction. Secondly, in the whole context of this forged Donation I find mention made of Ilands in one place only: ° where no more power

m Sanè omnes
Insulas, quibus
Sol iustitiæ
Christus illu-
xit, & quæ do-
cumenta fidei
Christianæ su-
sciperunt, ad
Ius S. Petri &
sacrofanctæ
Romanæ Ec-
clesiæ (quod
ita etiam No-
bilitas recog-
noscit) non est
dubium perti-
nere. Bull. Adri-
an. 11. ad Henr.
11. Angl. reg.
n Ad preces
meas illustri
Regi Anglo-
rum Henrico
secundo conce-
dit & dedit Hi-
berniam iure
hereditario
possidendam:
sicut literæ ip-
sius testantur
in hodiernum
diem. Nam om-
nes insulæ, de
iure antiquo,
ex donatione
Constantini,
qui eam fun-

davit & dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere. *Ioh. Sarisburiensis. Metalogic. lib. 4. cap. 42.* ° Per nostram Imperialem iussionem sacram, tam in Oriente quam in Occidente, vel etiam septentrionali & meridiana plagâ, videlicet in Iudæâ, Græciâ, Asiâ, Thraciâ, Aphiçâ & Italiâ, vel diversis Insulis nostrâ largitate eis libertatem concessimus: eâ prorsus ratione, ut per manus beatissimi patris nostri Sylvestri Pontificis successorumque eius omnia disponantur. *Edict. Constantini.*

is given to the Church of *Rome* over them, than in generall over the whole Continent (by *East* and by *West*, by *North* and by *South*) and in particular over *Judaea*, *Gracia*, *Asia*, *Thracia*, and *Aphrica*; which use not to passe in the account of *St. Peters* temporall patrimonic. *Thirdly*, it doth not appeare, that *Constantine* himselfe had any interest in the Kingdome of *Ireland*: how then could hee conferre it upon another? Some words there be in an oration of *P. Eumenius* the Rhetorician, by which peradventure it may bee collected, that his father *Constantinus* bare some stroke here: but that the Iland was ever possessed by the *Romanes*, or accounted a parcell of the *Empire*, cannot be proved by any sufficient testimonie of antiquitie. *Fourthly*, the late writers that are of another mind, as *Pomponius Letus*, *Cuspinian*, and others, doe yet affirme withall, that in the division of the *Empire* after *Constantines* death, *Ireland* was assigned unto *Constantinus* the eldest sonne: which will hardly stand with this donation of the Ilands supposed to bee formerly made unto the Bishop of *Rome* and his successors. Pope *Adrian* therefore, and *Iohn* of *Salisbury* his sollicitor, had need seeke some better warrant for the title of *Ireland*, than the Donation of *Constantine*.

Iohn Harding in his Chronicle saith, that the Kings of *England* have right

¹ To *Ireland* also, by King *Henry* (the first)
Of *Maude*, daughter of first King *Henry*)
That conquered it, for their great heresie.

which in another place he expresseth more at large, in this manner:

² The

p *Ultrā Oceanum* verò quid erat præter *Britanniam*? Quæ à vobis ita recuperata est; ut illæ quoque nationes terminis eiusdem insulæ coherentes vestris autibus obsequantur. *Eumenius Panegyric. ad Constant.*
q *Pomp. Let. in Roman. hist. Compend. Io. Cuspinian in Caesarib. Seb. Münster. in lib. 2. Cosmograph.*

¹ *Harding, Chronicle. cap. 141.*

The King Henry then, conquered all Ireland
 By Papall dome, there of his royaltie
 The profits and revenues of the land
 The domination, and the soveraigntee
 For error which agayn the spiritualtee
 They held full long, and would not been correct
 Of heresies, with which they were infect.

f Ibid. cap. 132.

Philip O'sullivan on the other side, doth not only deny
 that Ireland was infected with any heresie: but
 would also have us beleeve, that the Pope never intended
 to conferre the Lordship of Ireland upon the Kings of
 England. For where it is said in Pope Adrian's Bull;
 "Let the people of that land receive thee, and reverence thee
 as a Lord: the meaning thereof is, saith this Glozer,
 "Let them reverence thee, as a Prince worthy of great
 honour; not as Lord of Ireland, but as a Deputie appointed
 for the collecting of the Ecclesiasticall tribute. It is true
 indeed that King Henry the second, to the end hee might
 the more easily obtaine the Popes good wil for his entering
 upon Ireland, did voluntarily offer unto him the payment
 of a yearely pension of one penny out of every house in
 the countrey: which (for ought that I can learne) was the
 first Ecclesiasticall tribute that ever came unto the Popes
 coffers out of Ireland. But that King Henry got nothing
 else by the bargain but the bare office of collecting the
 Popes *Smoke-silver* (for so wee called it here, when wee
 payed it) is so dull a conceit, that I doe somewhat wonder
 how O'sullivan himselfe could be such a blocke-head, as
 not to discern the senselesse of it.

f O'sullivan. Hist.
 for. Catholic.
 Ibernie, tom. 2.
 lib. 1. cap. 7.
 u Ibid. cap. 4. §.
 9. & lib. 2. cap. 3.
 x Illius terræ
 populus te recipiat, & sicut
 Dominum veneretur. Bull.
 Adrian. 17.
 y Sicut Dominum
 veneretur, id est, ut
 Principem dignum
 magno honore; non
 Dominum Iberniæ,
 sed præfectum
 causæ colligendi
 tributū Ecclesiasticū.
 O'sullivan. Hist.
 1 bern. fol. 19. b.
 in margine.

What the King sought for and obtained, is sufficiently

x. Robert. de Monte. Roger. de Wyndover. Matth. Paris. & Nicol. Trevet in Chronic. an. 1155. a Venerabilis Adriani Papæ vestigiis inherentes, vestrique desiderii fructum attendentes; concessionem eiusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto (salvâ Beato Petro & sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ, sicut in Angliâ sic in Hiberniâ, de singulis domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione) ratam habemus & confirmamus. Bul. Alexandri 111. apud Giraldum Cambrensi.

lib. 2. Histor. Hibern. expugnat. cap. 6. in codicibus MS. (in edito enim caput hoc mancum est) & 10. Regum Warvicensem, in tract. De terris Coronæ Angliæ annexis. b Annulum quoque per me transmisit aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura iuris in gerenda Hiberniâ: idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archivo publico custodiri iussus est. 10. Sarisbur. Metalogic. lib. 4. cap. 42. de quo consulendus etiam est Giraldus Cambrensi. lib. 2. Hibern. expugnat. cap. 6. c In Regem & Dominum receperunt. Roger. Wyndover, & Matth. Paris in Historiâ maiori, an. 1171. Roger. Hoveden, in posteriore parte Annalium. Iohan. Brampton in Historiâ Iovalanensi, & Bartholomæus de Cotton, in Histor. Anglor. MS. d Recepit ab unoquoque Archiepiscopo & Episcopo literas, cum sigillis suis in modum Chartæ pendentibus; regnum Hiberniæ sibi & hæredibus suis confirmantes, & testimonium perhibentes ipsos in Hiberniâ cum & hæredes suos sibi in Reges & Dominos in perpetuum constituisse. 10. Brampton. lib. 2.

ently declared by them that writ the historie of his reigne. * In the year of our Lord MCLV. the first Bull was sent unto him by Pope *Adrian*: the summe whereof is thus laid down in a second Bull, directed unto him by *Alexander the third*, the immediate successor of the other. * Following the stepps of reverend Pope *Adrian*, and attending the fruit of your desire, we ratifie and confirme his grant concerning the dominion of the KINGDOME of Ireland conferred upon you: reserving unto *St. Peter* and the holy Church of *Rome*, as in England so in Ireland, the yearely pension of one penny out of every house. In this sort did Pope *Adrian*, as much as lay in him, give Ireland unto King *Henry*, hereditario jure possidendam, to bee possessed by right of inheritance; & withall ^b sent unto him a ring of gold, set with a faire Emerauld, for his investiture in the right thereof: as *Iohannes Sarisburiensis*, who was the principall agent betwixt them both in this businesse, doth expressly testifie. After this, in the year MCLXXI. the King himselfe came hither in person: where the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland * received him for their KING and Lord. The King (saith *John Brampton*) * received letters from every Archbishop and Bishop, with their scales hanging upon them in the manner

of an Indenture; confirming the KINGDOME of Ireland unto him and his heyres, and bearing witnesse that they in Ireland had ordained him and his heyres to bee their KINGS and Lords for ever. At Waterford (saith Roger Hoveden)* all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of Ireland came unto the King of England, and received him for KING and Lord of Ireland; swearing fealty to him and to his heyres, and power to reigne over them for ever: and hereof they gave him their Instruments. The Kings also and Princes of Ireland, by the example of the Clergie, did in like manner receive Henry King of England for Lord and KING of Ireland; and became his men (or, did him homage) and swore fealty to him and his heyres against all men.

These things were presently after confirmed in the Nationall Synod held at Cashell: the Acts whereof in *Giraldus Cambrensis* are thus concluded.

* For it is fit and most meet, that as Ireland by Gods appointment hath gotten a Lord and a KING from England; so also they should from thence receive a better forme of living. King Henry also at the same time sent a transcript of the Instruments of all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, unto Pope Alexander: who by his Apostolicall authority (for so was it in those

nix; & homines sui devenerunt, & ei & heredibus suis fidelitatem juraverunt contra omnes homines. Rog. Hoveden. ad ann. 1171. f. Dignum etenim & iustissimum est, ut sicut Dominum & Regem ex Angliâ sortita est divinitus Hibernia; sic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiant meliorem. Girald. Cambrenf. Hibern. Expugnata. lib. 1. cap. 34. g. Rex Angliæ misit transcriptum Chartarum universorum Archiepiscoporum & Episcoporum Hiberniæ, ad Alexandrum Papam; & ipse auctoritate Apostolicâ confirmavit illi & heredibus suis regnum Hiberniæ, secundum formam Chartarum Archiepiscoporum & Episcoporum Hiberniæ. Rog. Hoveden.

e Venerunt ibidem ad regem Angliæ omnes Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Abbates totius Hiberniæ, & receperunt eum in Regem & Dominum Hiberniæ; jurantes ei & heredibus suis fidelitatem, & regnandi super eos potestatem in perpetuum: & inde dederunt ei chartas suas. Exemplo autem clericorum, predicti Reges & Principes Hiberniæ, receperunt simili modo Henricum regem Angliæ in Dominum & Regem Hiber-

dayes

dayes of darknesse esteemed to bee) did confirme the KINGDOME of Ireland unto him and his heyres, (according to the forme of the Instruments of the Arch-bishops & Bishops of Ireland) ^h and made them **KINGS** thereof for ever. The King also ⁱ obtained further from Pope Alexander, that it might bee lawfull for him to make which of his sonnes bee pleased, **KING** of Ireland, and to crowne him accordingly; and to subdue the Kings and great ones of that land, which would not subject themselves unto him. Whereupon, in a grand Councell held at Oxford in the yeere of our Lord **MCLXXVII.** ^k before the Bishops and Peeres of the Kingdome hee constituted his sonne Iohn **KING** of Ireland; ^l according to that grant and confirmation of Pope Alexander. And to make the matter yet more sure, in the yeere **MCLXXXVI.** hee obtained a new licence from Pope Urban the third; ^m that one of his sonnes, whom hee himselfe would, should bee crowned for the **KINGDOME** of Ireland. And this the Pope did not onely confirme by his Bull: but also the yeere following purposely sent over Cardinall O'Havian and Hugo de Nunant (or Novant) ⁿ his Legates into Ireland, to crowne Iohn the Kings sonne there.

By all this wee may see, how farre King Henry the second proceeded in this businesse: which I doe not

^h Nam summus Pontifex regnum illud sibi & heredibus suis auctoritate Apostolica confirmavit; & in perpetuum eos constituit inde Reges. *Id. ad an. Brampton.*

ⁱ Perquisierat ab Alexandro summo Pontifice, quod liceret ei filium suum quem vellet Regem Hibernie facere, & similiter coronare; ac Reges & potentes ejusdem terrae, qui subjectionem ei facere nollent, debellare. *Id. ad an. 1177.*

^k Johannem filium suum

coram Episcopis & regni sui principibus Regem Hibernie constituit. *Id. ibid. & Guilielmi Cantuariensis in eisdem anni historia.* ^l Constituit Johannem filium suum Regem in Hibernia, concessione & confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis. *Reg. Henrici. Anal. part. 3. ad an. 1177.* ^m Ab eo impetravit; quod unus quem vellet de filiis suis coronaretur de regno Hibernie. & hoc confirmavit ei Dominus Papa Bulla sua: & in argumentum voluntatis & confirmationis suae, misit ei coronam de pennâ pavonis auro contextam. *Id. ad an. 1185.* ⁿ Quibus ipse commisit legatiam in Hiberniam, ad coronandum ibi Johannem filium Regis. Sed Dominus Rex coronationem illam distulit. *Id. ad an. 1187.*

so much note, to convince the solidity of *Osfullivan*, who would faine perswade fooles, that he was preferred onely to bee collector of the Popes Peterpence: as to shew, that *Ireland* at that time was esteemed a *Kingdome*, and the Kings of *England* accounted no lesse than *Kings* thereof. And therefore

* *Paul* the fourth needed not make all that noyse, and trouble * the whole Court of heaven with the matter: when in the yeere MDLV. he tooke upon him by his *Apostol*. call authority (such I am sure, as none of the *Apostles* of *Christ* did ever assume unto themselves) to erect *Ireland* unto the title and dignity of a *Kingdome*. Whereas hee might have found, even in his owne * *Romane*. *Provinciall*, that *Ireland* was reckoned among the *Kingdomes* of *Christendome*, before hee was borne. Insomuch, that in the yeere MCCCXVII. when the Legates of the King of *England* and the *French* Kings Ambassadors fell at variance in the Councell of *Constance* for precedence, the *Englisb* Orators, among other arguments, alledged this also for themselves. ¶ It is well knowne,

& *Maria* Regina nobis super hoc humiliter supplicanribus, de futurum nostrorum consilio & Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, Apostolicâ authoritate Insulam Hiberniæ in Regnum perpetuo erigimus; ac titulo, dignitate, honore, facultatibus, iuribus, insignis, prærogativis, antelationibus, præeminentiis regis, ac quibus alia Christi fidelium Regna utuntur, potiuntur, & gaudent, ac uti, potiri, & gaudere poterunt quomodo libet, in futurum insignis & decoramus. Bulla Pauli IV. in Rotulo Patentium, ann. 2. & 3. Philippi & Mariae, in Cancellariâ Hiberniæ. ¶ Provinciale ex archivis Cancellariæ Apostolicæ edit. tom. 2. Tractat. Doctor fol. 344. (impres. Venet. an. 1548.) p. Satis constat, secundum Albertum Magnum & Bartholomæum de proprietatibus rerum, quod toto Mundo in tres partes diviso (videlicet Asiâ, Africâ, & Europam) Europa in quatuor dividiatur regna: primum videlicet Romanum, secundum Constantinopolitanum, tertium regnum Hiberniæ quod jam translatum est in Anglicos, & quartum regnum Hispaniæ. Ex quo patet, quod rex Angliæ & regnum suum sunt de eminentioribus antiquioribus Regibus & Regnis totius Europæ: quam prærogativam regnum Franciæ non fertur obtinere. Act. Concil. Constant. Sess. 18. MS. in Bibliotheca Regia.

* Paulus IIII nostris temporibus Hiberniam insulam in regni titulum ac dignitatem erexit. G. Bucius in vita Pij V. o Ad omnipotentis Dei laudem & gloriam, ac gloriosissimæ eius genitricis Virginis Mariæ, totiusq; Curie celestis honorem, & fidei Catholicæ exaltationem, Philippo Rege

that according to Albertus Magnus and Bartholomæus in his booke *De proprietatibus rerum*, the whole world being divided into three parts (to wit, Asia, Africk and Enrope) Europe is divided into foure Kingdomes: namely, the Romane for the first, the Constantinopolitane for the second, the third the Kingdome of Ireland which is now translated unto the English, and the fourth the Kingdome of Spain. Whereby it appeareth, that the King of England and his Kingdome are of the more eminent ancient Kings and Kingdomes of all Europe: which prerogative the Kingdome of France is not said to obtaine. And this have I here inserted the more willingly, because it maketh something for the honour of my Country (to which, I confesse, I am very much devoted) and in the printed Acts of the Councell it is not commonly to be had.

But now commeth forth *O'sullivan* againe, and like a little furie flyeth upon the English-Irish Priests of his owne religion, which in the late rebellion of the Earle of Tirone did not deny that Hellish doctrine, fetcht out of Hell for the destruction of Catholicikes, that it is lawfull for Catholicikes to beare armes and fight for Heretickes against Catholicikes and their country. or rather (if you will have it in plainer termes) that it is lawfull for them of the Romish Religion, to beare armes and fight for their Sovereigne and fellow-subjects that are of another profession, against those of their own religion that trayterously rebell against their Prince and Country. and to shew, how madde

q Cujus mali
maxima culpa
in aliquot
Angloibernos
Sacerdotes jure
transferenda
est; qui tartarum
dogma ab Orco in
Catholicorum
perniciem emissum
non negabant, licet
Catholicis contra
Catholicos & suam
patriam pro
Hæreticis gerere
arma & dimicare.
Philip. O'sullivan. Hist.
Catholic. Ibern.
1600. 4. lib. 3.
cap. 5. fol. 263.
edit. Vissipen.
an. 1631.
r Hæc est Aca-
demiarum censura;
quâ liquidò constat,
quantâ ignoratione &
caligine erraverint illi
Iberni, qui in hoc bello
Protestantibus opem
tulerunt, & Catholicos
oppugnârunt: quamque
inlanam & venenosam
doctrinam attulerint
nonnulli doctiores vulgo
habiti, qui sæculares
homines ad Regine
partes sequendas
exhortati, à fide
tuedâ averterunt. *Idem*
3. lib. 8. cap. 7. fol. 204.

and how venemous a doctrine they did bring (these bee the caitiffes owne termes) that exhorted the laitie to follow the Queens side: he setteth downe the censure of the Doctors of the Univerſity of Salamanca and Valladolid, published in the yeere MDCIII. for the justification of that Rebellion, and the declaration of Pope Clement the eight's letters touching the ſame; wherein he ſignifieth that *the Engliſh ought to be ſet upon no leſſe than the Turkes, and imparteth the ſame favours unto ſuch as ſet upon them, that hee doth unto ſuch as fight againſt the Turkes.* Such wholeſome directions doth the Biſhop of Rome give vnto thoſe that will be ruled by him: far different (I wiſſe) from that holy doctrine, wherewith the Church of Rome was at firſt ſeaſoned by the Apoſtles. * *Let every ſoule bee ſubject unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God:* was the leſſon that S. Paul taught to the ancient Romanes. Where if it bee demanded; * *whether that power alſo, which perſecuteth the ſervants of God, impugneth the faiſh, and ſubverteth religion, be of God?* our countryman Sedulius will teach us to answer with Origen; that even ſuch a power as that, is given of God, for the revenge of the evill, and the praiſe of the good. although he were as wicked, as eyther Nero among the Romanes, or Herod among the Jewes: the one whereof moſt cruelly perſecuted the Chriſtians, the other Chriſt himſelfe.

And yet when the one of them ſwayed the ſcep-

ſervos Dei perſequitur, fidem impugnatur, religionem ſubvertit, a Deo eſt? Ad quod reſpondendum, quod etiam talis poteſtas a Deo data eſt, ad vindictam quidem malorum, laudem vero bonorum. Sedul in Rom. 13.

f Cùm enim Pontifex dicat Anglos adverſus Catholicam Religionem pugnare, eoſque non minus ac Turcas oppugnari debere; eſt idem, que gratiis eos oppugnantes proſequatur, quibus contra Turcas pugnantes proſequitur: quis dubitet, bellum ab Anglis adverſus exercitum Catholicum omnino iniquum geri? Ceuſus. Deſi. Salmantib. & Vallisoles. de Hibernia bello.

1 Rom. 13. 1. u Quid, & illa poteſtas, que

K

ter,

x Rom. 13. 5.

ter, Saint Paul told the Christian Romanes; that they
 * must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for
 conscience sake: and of the causelesse feare of the o-
 ther, these Verses of Sedulius are solemnly sung in
 the Church of Rome, even unto this day.

y Sedulius
 Hymno acro-
 sticho de Vita
 Christi.

† Herodes hostis impie,
 Christum venire quid times?
 Non eripit mortalia,
 Qui regna dat caelestia.
 Why, wicked Herod, dost thou feare
 And at Christs comming frowne?
 The mortall he takes not away,
 That gives the heavenly crowne.

a better paraphrase whereof you cannot have, than
 this which Claudius hath inserted into his Collecti-
 ons upon St. Matthew. * That King which is borne,
 doth not come to overcome Kings by fighting, but to sub-
 due them after a wonderfull manner by dying: neither
 is he borne to the end that hee may succeed thee, but that
 the world may faithfully beleewe in him. For he is come,
 not that hee may fight being alive, but that hee may tri-
 umph being slaine: nor that he may with gold get an ar-

x Rex iste qui
 natus est, non
 venit Reges
 pugnando su-
 perare, sed mo-
 riendo mirabi-
 liter subjugare:
 necque ideo na-
 tus est ut tibi
 succedat, sed ut

in eum mandus fideliter credat. Venit enim, non ut regnet vivus, sed ut triumphet occisus:
 nec sibi de aliis gentibus auro exercitum quaerat, sed ut pro salvandis gentibus pretiosum
 sanguinem fundat. Inaniter invidendo cunctis successorum, quem credendo debuisti qua-
 rere salvatorem: quia si in eum crederes, cum eo regnares; & sicut ab illo accepisti tem-
 porale regnum, acciperes etiam sempiternum. Huius enim pueri regnum non est de hoc
 mundo; sed per ipsam regnatur in hoc mundo. Ipse est etiam Sapiencia Dei, quae dicit in
 Proverbiis: Per me Reges regnant. Puer iste Verbum Dei est, Puer iste Virtus & Sapiencia
 Dei est. Si potes, contra Dei sapientiam cogita: in tuam perniciem versaris, & neicia. Tu
 enim regnum nullatenus habuisti, nisi ab illo Patro qui nunc natus est accepisses. Claud.
 lib. 1. in Matth.

m.c.

mie unto himselfe out of other nations, but that hee may shed his precious bloud for the saving of the nations. Vainly didst thou by envying feare him to bee thy successor, whom by beleeuing thou oughtest to seeke as thy Saviour: because if thou diddest beleue in him, thou shouldest reigne with him; and as thou hast received a temporall kingdome from him, thou shouldest also receive from him an everlasting. For the kingdome of this Childe is not of this world, but by him it is that men do reigne in this world. He is the Wisedome of God, which saith in the Proverbs: By mee Kings reigne. This Childe is the Word of God: this Childe is the Power and Wisedome of God: If thou canst, thinke against the Wisedome of God: thou workest thine owne destruction, and dost not know it. For thou by no meanes shouldest have had thy kingdome, unlesse thou hadst received it from that Childe which now is borne.

As for the Censure of the Doctors of Salamanca and Vallodilid: our Nobility and Gentry, by the faithfull service which at that timethey performed unto the Crowne of England, did make a reall confutation of it. Of whose fidelity in this kinde I am so well perswaded, that I doe assure my selfe, that neither the names of *Franciscus Zumel* and *Alphonfus Curiel* (how great Schoole-men soever they were) nor of the *Fathers of the Society* (*Iohannes de Ziguenza*, *Emanuel de Roias*, and *Gaspar de Mena*) nor of the Pope himselfe, upon whose sentence they wholly ground their Resolution; eyther then was or hereafter will be of any force, to remove them one whit from the allegiance and duty which they doe owe

unto their King and Country. Nay I am in good hope, that their loyall mindes will so farre distaste that evill lesson, which those great *Rabbies* of theirs would have them learne, that it will teach them to unlearne another bad lesson, wherewith they have beene most miserably deluded. For whereas heretofore^a wise men did learne to give credence to the truth, *by whosevers mouth it should be delivered*: now men are made such fooles, that they are taught^b to attend in the doctrine of Religion, not what the thing is that is said, but what the person is that speaketh it.

But how dangerous a thing it is, to have the faith of our Lord *Iesus Christ* in respect of persons; and to give entertainment to the truth, not so much for it selfe as for the regard that is had to the deliverer of it: I wish men would learne otherwise, than by wofull experience in themselves. **The truth* (saith *Claudius*) *is to bee loved for it selfe, not for the Man, or for the Angell, by whom it is preached. For he that doth love it in respect of the preachers of it, may love lyes also, if they peradventure shall deliver any.* as here without all peradventure, the Pope and his Doctors have done: unlesse the teaching of flat Rebellion and high Treason may passe in the account of Catholicke verities. The Lord of his mercie open their eyes, that they

^a Veritas sapienti niter, cuiuscunque ore prolata fuerit.

Gildas, in Codice Canonum Cottonianum tit. De veritate credendâ, quocunque ore prolata fuerit.

Similiter Nennius, prefat. in in Historiam Brittonum (MS. in publicâ Cantabrigieusis academie Bibliotheca:)

Non quis dicat, aut qualiter dicatur, sed quid dictum sit, veritatis testimonio magis attendendum esse probatur.

^b In doctrinâ religionis non quid dicatur,

sed quis loquatur attendendum esse. *Thom. Stapleton. Defens. Eccl. Gallic. authoritat. lib. 3. cap. 7. & Demonstrat. Principior. Doctrinal. lib. 10. cap. 5.* ^c Veritas propter seipsam diligenda est, non propter Hominem, aut propter Angelum, per quem adnuntiatur. Qui enim propter adnunciatores eam diligit, potest & mendacia diligere, siqua forte ipsi suâ promulerint. *Claud. in Galat. 5.*

may

may see the light; and give them grace to receive
the love of the truth, that they may be saved. The Lord
likewise grant (if it bee his blessed will) that Truth
and Peace may meet together in our dayes, that we
may bee all gathered into ^aone fold under one
shepherd, and that ^ethe whole earth may
be filled with his glory. Amen,
Amen.

d Iohn 10.16.

e Psal. 72.19.

FINIS.

Faults in some Copies.

12 *The Insuper Challenge*, pag. 3. lin. 2. read, *contrary*, pag. 4. lin. 9. for *should*, read *shall*.
 In the Answer, pag. 4. l. 26. like-fo. p. 5. l. 21. *fatistic*, p. 12. l. 7. continued, p. 16. l. 22. Penitentiali. p. 26. l. 6.
 kne w. 27. l. 26. Augustin. p. 50. l. 23. [*saib* = Fulgentius], p. 51. l. 6. when he s. found to be chat. p. 62. l. 3. An-
 toninus. p. 64. l. 12. alter Chrit. p. 72. l. 4. for *it put* p. 75. l. 6. *eroff* out, of Mets first and afterwards. p. 76. l. 3.
 Carificati on Crefcy. p. 86. l. 9. secretly. p. 123. l. 26. commannded. p. 124. l. 5. finnes. p. 126. l. 17. intercession.
ibid. l. 19. for the comma put a full point; and in the near line for the full po not a comma. p. 136. l. 1. A-
 nathafus. p. 139. l. 4. Scriptures. *ibid.* l. 7. *evrte*. 140. l. 3. instrumentally. p. 147. l. 32. death. p. 148. l. 4. 23.
 Augustint. p. 156. l. 2. and. p. 162. l. 19. medicine. p. 171. l. 16. (the. p. 172. l. 14. for *theif*, read *theif*. p. 185. l. 2.
 Olympiodorus. p. 188. l. 10. (about 253. p. 190. l. 4. who ver. p. 194. l. 16. (with. *ibid.* l. 19. for *pid*, read *paide*.
 p. 195. l. 6. intended. p. 205. l. 15. Halleluia. p. 206. l. 8. for *drive*, read *not drive*. p. 221. l. 1. write. p. 226. l. 19. in
 the Romanc Pontifical. p. 228. l. 17. apocryphal. p. 234. l. 7. centing again into. p. 253. l. 8. forme. p. 264. l. 1.
 kinds. p. 270. l. 18. for *caifing*, read *caifing*. p. 277. l. 26. affention. p. 281. l. 23. *id*. p. 284. l. 5. expounding that
 place in. p. 291. l. 1. entring again into. p. 307. l. 14. apocryphall. p. 310. l. 1. *eroff* out. p. 323. l. 17. Steuchus.
 p. 328. l. 20. 21. with that which Olympiodorus writeth upon the same chapt. c. p. 330. l. 3. division. p. 343.
 l. 5. *eroff* out the left comma. l. 22. palace. p. 359. l. 28. ofit. p. 361. l. 27. iudgments. p. 368. l. 6. for *givn*, read
goeth. p. 376. l. 25. filter. p. 379. l. 12. comming. p. 391. l. 26. *DND*. p. 395. l. 26. for *depravation*, p. 396. l. 1.

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[illegible]

